
THE Modern States-man.

By G. W. Esq; K

καθάπερ ἡνίοχος ἀγαθὸς τὸ τῷ κόσμῳ ἄρ-
μα ἀσφαλισάμενος καὶ ἀναδήσας εἰς ἐαυ-
τὸν, μὴ πως ἀτάκῃς φέροιτο. *Tresmegist.*
φρόνησις εὐτυχίαν ὡς τὰ πολλὰ χαρίζε-
ται τύχη δὲ φρονησιν ὁ ποιεῖ. *Plutarch.*

*In hac ruina rerum stetit una inte-
gra atque immobilis virtus populi Ro-
mani. Hac omnia strata humi erex-
it, ac sustulit. Livie.*

LONDON,
Printed, by Henry Hills, and
are to be sold at his House at
the sign of Sir John Old Castle in
Py-Corner, MDCLIII.

Page 42

M

καθ

μα

707

φρ

τα

gr

ma

it,

P

a

THE Modern States-man.

By G. W. Esq; K

καθάπερ ἡνίοχος ἀγαθὸς τὸ τῷ κόσμῳ ἄρ-
μα ἀσφαλισάμενος καὶ ἀναδήσας εἰς ἑαυ-
τὸν, μὴ πως ἀτάκῃς φέροιτο. *Iresmegist.*
φρόνησις εὐτυχίαν ὡς τὰ πολλὰ χαρίζε-
ται τύχη δὲ φρονησιν ὁ ποιεῖ. *Plutarch.*

*In hac ruina rerum stetit una inte-
gra atque immobilis virtus populi Ro-
mani. Hac omnia strata humi erex-
it, ac sustulit. Livie.*

LONDON,
Printed, by Henry Hills, and
are to be sold at his House at
the sign of Sir John Old Castle in
Py-Corner, MDCLIII.



To the Reader.

READER,



Here present thee with a few conceptions and observations huddled together during my confinement to my Chamber by an arrest from Heaven ; my nobler part being then unwilling to ly idle , when the other was denied the liberty of action : If I have not observed so exact a methode as thou mightst expect, let the distraction of my mind by bodily pains and weakness plead my excuse.

To the

Thou mayest wonder perhaps to meet me walking abroad without a support, which was not from any overweening confidence in my own ability, but because I was ignorant where to find such an one as might lend me an hand; and this not that I could not have pick'd out one sufficient in my own apprehension, but in thine: For when I considered our divisions, what animosities, what parties, what factions are amongst us, I knew not where to elect the man might please all, and so rather would have none, than one that might creat a prejudice,

Reader.

judice, or hinder any from looking into this little Treatise of so publick concernment. We are all passengers in the publick Vessel, therefore as wise Mariners diligently observe the Heavens, that they may not be taken unprovided by Tempests: so ought we to enquire what may betide the Publike, whereon our private Quiet, and Happiness depends. Foresight is an half-prevention, and though it may not totally defend, yet will it take off the edge so far, that the evil shall not be able to pierce to the heart: let this then suffice to move thee to read

To the

read on, whereby thou shalt be enabled to make a perfect judgement, whether happiness, or calamity attends the nation whereof thou art a member. Sol et homo generant Hominem, say the Naturalists, and Providence, and Vertue concur in the begetting of a perfect and durable Commonwealth, for divine influence, and humane activity are equally necessary to the generation of the politick, as well as natural Body, and Heaven and earth must join to make up an absolute Compositum. | Observe then both God, and Man, the a-
ctings

Reader.

Ettings of Providence towards,
and of Vertue in a Nation, and
thou mayest foretell whether it
will be well or ill with them,
without going to a Conjuror, or
any Star-gazing Mountebank.

F A R E W E L L.

The

The Contents.

CHap. 1. That there is by nature in all men an inquisitive desire after the knowledge of futurity: the reason of this; the means by which they have attempted it.

Chap. 2. That there is a way leads to this knowledge, and what it is.

Chap. 3. This way confirmed by reason and examples.

Chap. 4. An admonition to some amongst us.

Chap. 5. How England became a Commonwealth, and what may be expected from such a beginning.

Chap. 6. The beginning of the Commonwealth of Rome, and the causes of its growth.

Chap.

The Contents.

Chap. 7. *A Parallel.*

Chap. 8. *Of Providence, and Vertue, and the concurrence of second causes.*

Chap. 9. *Of the Roman Piety, the evil and danger of mock transgressings.*

Chap. 10. *Piety and Valour not inconsistent; Piety rewarded in Heathens, Impiety punished.*

Chap. 11. *Religion ingrafted in mans heart by nature.*

Chap. 12. *The outward means to be used; Ministers encouraged and maintained; the Christian Magistrates duty.*

Chap. 13. *Religion not to be made a stalking horse to Ambition or Avarice.*

Chap. 14. *The benefit of humane learning, and some objections answered.*

Chap.

The Contents.

Chap. 15. *An answer to some objections in a Book entituled, The Saints Guide.*

Chap. 16. *The abuse of learning no argument against the use of it.*

Chap. 17. *The mischief of Ignorance.*

Chap. 18. *Of moral Vertue in general.*

Chap. 19. *Of Probity, and the practice of it among the Romans.*

Chap. 20. *Of Prudence.*

Chap. 21. *Of Natural parts, Experience, Learning, and Travel.*

Chap. 22. *Of the Prudence of the Romans.*

Chap. 23. *Of Justice, and the Roman practice of it.*

Chap. 24. *Of Laws, and the English Laws.*

Chap. 25. *Of Fortitude.*

Chap. 26. *Of Temperance.*

THE



THE Modern States-man.

CHAP. I

*That there is by nature in all men
an inquisitive desire after the
knowledge of futurity; the reason
of this; the means by which they
have attempted to attain this in
all Ages.*

Here is, and hath al-
ways been, in the ge-
nerality of mankind,
an itching desire, and
hankering after the knowledge
of

of future events , the Sonnes of *Adam* reaching out their hands to the forbidden tree, and catching at the fruit of it ; yea , this off-spring of *Eve* longing for the greenest apples, the precocious knowledge of Events, before they come to their just ripeness and maturity.

And to say truth, the Tree of knowledge is fair to the eye, and pleasant to the taste; for as all notional dainties are delightful, so especially these prenotions and anticipations of things are the more sweet and delicious to the palates of men , because most of their being is treasured up in their future condition. They can find no satisfaction, no Sabbath, no quiet in their present

preſent ſtate, and therefore they would fain know what the next day, what the next year, what the next age will bring forth; in the higheſt proſperity they fear a mutation, in the loweſt adverſity they are impatient for a change; and hence it comes to paſſe, that futurity is the mark at which all levell the arrows of their Counſels, their endeavours, their hopes, their deſires, and their prayers.

This hath cauſed them in all ages to have a ſacred eſteem of thoſe who pretended ſkil in divination, as the honour conferred upon *Joſeph* by *Pharaoh*, and the advancement of *Daniel* by the Chaldean and Perſian Monarchs recorded in ſacred writ undoubtedly makes out, to let

pasſe the honours which the *Magi* enjoyed among them, which are ſet down by thoſe that wrote their histories.

Thus the Jews who had the *Urim* and *Thummim*, and Prophets from God to enquire of, yet ranne a madding after wizards, and ſuch as had familiar ſpirits, had their falſe prophets by hundreds, yea, and ſent to *Baalzebub* the God of *Ekron*, an oracle of the Devils, to enquire, as in the life of *Ahaziah* will appear.

With how frequent, and coſtly ſacrifices did the *Gracians* adore their Oracle-giving Deities, purchaſing an answer with a *Hecatomb*, and with the bloud of a hundred dumb beaſts conjuring their dumb devils, before the

the sullen fiends would vouchsafe to answer them ? and of what esteem were the *Sybill's* books among the *Romans* , who with all other heathens were so inquisitive after the future, that they left no stone unrol'd to attain the knowledge of their fates?

There could not a Bird chatter , but there was an *Augur* to comment on , and expound its language.

There could not a Bird flye, but there was an *Auspex* to watch it; nor light, but he was ready to observe , and by its motions in the ayr interpret the revolutions of States and Persons.

There could not a sacrifice fall, but there was an *Aruspex* to behold the posture of it, and by

the quietnesse or strugling of the sensitive creature, to foretell the facilities or reluctancies in the affairs of rational beings; and an *Exspex* to consult the entrails, and by the colour of the inwards tell the complexion of outward affairs.

There could not a line seem to be scribed on the hand, but there was a *Chiromancer* to read them, and with his interlineary glosses expound them, giving a short Synopsis of the future passages of this present life out of that *Enchiridion* (as they would have it) of natures penning.

The *Interpreter* of Dreames was set to judge in the horny and ivory gates of fancy, and as if the day were to receive light from

from the night, to regulate its walking motions, by the others slumbring intimations.

To passe by those severall kinds of the same madnesse expressed in *Geomancy*, by circles in the earth; *Pyromancy*, by fire; *Hydromancy*, by water; *Necromancy*, by the Ghosts of the dead, &c. of which the nations were enamoured, the heaven it self could not escape them, but the *Astrologer* with his key was to unlock the starry charracters, and out of them spell the fate of sublu-
nar y things.

And here let me not be mistaken, for I am not of opinion that those glorious bodies were created only to twinckle in a clear night, I do believe them to have an influence on sublunary

bodies, and see the Moon empire it over the waters, & the humors increase, and decrease, as it fills, or is in the wane ; yet are they not, I conceive, so easie to be read as some pretend, it certainly to be known by any; for I find the Prince of the power of the air himself at loss in his conjectures, which made him so cautelous in his oraculous responsals, as *Plutarch* in many places observes.

And *Aquinas* will have the crows, cranes, & swallows, those flying Almanacks, more happy and succesful in their predictions, than our *anni specula*, which become often crack't & broken in their guessings at the weather and truly the giving such unequal representations of things most obvious, is a very bad inducement to

to create a belief of their ability to foretell things far more imperceptible, and immaterial, that depend upon the will and decrees of God, and upon the motions of most free and indifferent agents; yea, such as are confessed on all hands so able to oppose, that they cannot be compelled, for *Sapiens dominabitur astris*, & it is related of *Socrates*, that of a crabbed and dissolute disposition by nature, he became the most accomplished in his time by Philosophy.

But I shall not set bounds to other mens knowledge, nor circumscribe them within the circle of my own ignorance, they may have dawnings where I perceive no star-light; yet take this along with you, that God

often in text-hand declares his mind, in a Comet, a blazing-star, and other fiery apparitions, as he did before the last destruction of *Jerusalem*.

And as the *Jews* and *Heathens*, so many *Christians* have been tampering about futurities, how lawfully I cannot say, for I am persuaded we ought to acquiesce in Gods revealed will; God will have his children in some sense *in diem vivere* entertain fortune by the day, and he doth choose gradually and leasurely *πολυμερῶς καὶ πολυτροπῶς*, to discover the thoughts he hath concerning them, that he might keep them in a waiting and obedient posture, in a posture of dependence, and expectation; not that I would have them with

Anacreon

Anacreon cry out, τὸ σήμερον μέλει μοι, τὸ δὲ αὔριον τίς οἶδε, give me to day, let who will take care for to morrow; or with the *stoicks* lazily expect the blind-stroak of a conceited unavoidable Fate; but using all lawful and probable means, endeavour their countries, and in it their own future good.

I confesse with that kingly Prophet, that Gods wayes are unsearchable, and his paths past finding out, that is in the hidden and secret bringing of things about, yet in his out-goings he will be observed, that his glory, his power, his justice, and his mercy may be made manifest unto the children of men; thus we find his mighty works of creation, and redemption, of
prefer-

preservation, and castigation, all along recorded in the sacred registers of the old and new Testaments; and that for the comfort as well as instruction of his people; in the writings of those glorious stars, the sacred Penmen, may the Saints read their fortunes, and with comfort apply unto themselves the divine dispensations of God to his people.

Hath God brought *England* through a red sea of war out of Egyptian bondage, and will he not perfect his work? is the mighty hand of omnipotence shortned that it cannot save? or the loving kindnesse of the immutable Deity changed that he will not save? though the murmurers (those repiners at
Gods

Gods hand , who would upon
beds of down, with all ease and
plenty be carried through the
wildernesse) may be cut off, and
those low soules whom the
height of the sons of *Anak* hath
caused to rebell against the most
high be consumed ; and who
knows whether for their sakes
he hath not deferred to settle
us in the promised land ? yet
shal the *Caleb's* and *Joshua's* who
have followed God fully be
brought into it , and their seed
shal possesse it ; though God
may defer his mercies because
of some mens infidelity , yet in
his good time he will accom-
plish them , if his people walk
worthy of them. Let us not then
despair, nor be impatient, but
endeavour to fit our selves to
receive

receive them; for the wise God, and our merciful Father knows better what is good for us than our selves, his time is best, but let us from the bottom of our hearts eccho to that petition in the Gospel, *Thy will be done on earth as it is in heaven.*

But I shal not insift further in applying Scripture, and I could wish some (I am perswaded Godly persons) had not been (I fear) to adventurous in misapplying it; for surely if we warily look into those Prophecies in *Daniel*, we shall hardly find them calculated for the Meridian of great *Britain*, and *Ireland*; were not some peremptorily concerning the return of the Jews out of the Babylonish captivity, as in 9. chap. 24. verse: the

the comming of Christ, and the destruction of *Jerusalem*, as in 25, 26, 27. &c. *verses* others concerning the four Monarchies in 2. *chap.* the division of *Alexanders* Kingdome, in 8. *chap.* and the Empire of *Rome*, in the 11. *chap.*

So if we behold the book of the *Apocalyps*, it rather seems to hold forth the actions of a world than an Island, and the great concernments of the rational *species* than of a few English *Individuums*.

I hope I shal be allowed liberty of conscience in so intricate a case, especially being no fundamental point of salvation, and if God shal be pleased to use *England* as the primary instrument in my dayes for the destruction of that Romish Kingdome

dome of Antichrist, and the exaltation of the Lord *Jesus* blessed for ever on the throne, I shall endeavor to praise him both in word and deed, and humbly to prostrate my life and fortunes at his feet, as ready to wait upon him in what part of that work he shall be pleased to make me though never so meanly instrumental.

CHAP. II.

That there is a way which leads to this knowledge, and what it is.

ANd now setting aside the before rehearsed follies of the besotted world, I shall attempt by a new way of conjecture to guess at the fortune of
the

the Common-wealth ; reason
 ſhall be the Jacobs-ftaff by
 which I ſhall take its height,
 and in that true glaſſe ſhew you
 its future face, that I may have
 few , and thoſe inconfiderable
 opponents. I know that diſ-
 courſe which is moſt filled with
 reaſon muſt needs be moſt vic-
 torious and triumphant , the
 weapons of it are general , and
 there is none of the ſonnes of
 men able to oppoſe its force, the
 unjuſt Infidel muſt believe it, or
 deny his eſſence, and the Atheiſt
 muſt ſubſcribe upon perill of
 his being, for the Creator, or as
 they, nature it ſelf gave it an
imprimatur & ὁ ὄντων the eter-
 nal Being graved it on immor-
 tal ſoules, as *Philo* very excel-
 lently declares, Νόμος δ' ἀφ' αὐτῆς ὁ
 105.

ὁρθὸς λόγος ἐκ ὑπὸ τῷ δεινῷ, ἢ τῷ δεινῷ
 θνητῷ φθαρτὸς ἐν χαρτίδαις ἢ σήλαις
 ἀψύχαις ἀλλ' ὡς ἀθανάτῃ φύσεως
 ἀφθαρτὸς ἐν ἀθανάτῃ διάνοια τυπωθεὶς.
 It is essential, & so must be uni-
 versal to the *species* of man-
 kind ; and as *Aristotle* saith,
 τὸ μὲν φύσει ἀκίνητον, καὶ πανταχῶς τῇ
 αὐτῇ δύνανται, what soever is
 natural, is immovable, and per-
 petually in the same manner
 energetical ; It constantly and
 continually commands obedi-
 ence, and none but a monster,
 an *Heteroclite* in nature, as the
 Philosopher speaks Ἀμάρτυμα τῆς
 φύσεως, will dare to resist it; but
 to our purpose.

There is not, I confesse,
 enough light in any created rea-
 son to give a bright displaying
 of fate, nor is there vigour
 enough

enough in any created eye to pierce into the marrow and pith, into the depth and secreſie of the eternal decree; yet can it diſcover ſuch objects as are within its own ſphere with a ſufficient certainty. The actings of Providence are ſo fairly printed, and the letters of it ſo viſible, and capital, that we may read them, though ſome perverſe beings, unworthy the name of men, ſlight all its workings, upon this account, that they are rolling, and fluctuating; who with the old *Scepticks* by a kind of ſtrange hypocriſie, and in an unuſual way of affectation, pretend to more ignorance than they have, nay than they are capable of, or with *Socrates* cry, *Hoc tantum ſcire, ſe nihil ſcire;*

scire; He only knows this, that he knoweth nothing; and with the Academicks" & Καταλαμβάνω. I cannot comprehend.

But let me tel such dubious, if not lazy, Gentlemen, that it is an error very derogatory to the plenitude and exuberancy of the divine actings, which stream out in a clear cognoscibility, and no lesse injurious to their own natural capacities, which were not made so streight and narrow-mouth'd, as not to receive those lessons that continually drop from Providence upon the world.

It is an unquestionable rule, *Omne quod est, quando est, necesse est esse*, a contingency, when 'tis *extra suas causas*, when it is actually produced, having a
de-

determinatum eſſe , it may then alſo have a determinate cognoſcibility; for entity is the root and bottome of intelligibility; a *Common-wealth* in its growth is uncertain , and the means whereby it ſhal acquire ſtrength lie hid in the eternal decree, until by the working of Providence they are preſented to publick view , and then we know how it attained to maturity,

CHAP. III.

*This Way confirmed by Reason,
and Examples.*

NOW this ordinary working of Providence hath ſo often ſhown it ſelfe in the advancement

advancement of States , that with a little industry we may track it, and by its leadings may conjecture how good a progress such or such a State shall have; for matters in fact are as certain in being and reality, as demonstrations.

And this may be enlightned by a simile fetch't from Vegetables; which we see thrive by the alternat help of heat and moisture, moderately and in their seasons shining , and showring down upon them; yet either of these in excesse, much enfeeble, or totally destroys them: hence without a witch wil your country man foretel plenty or scarcity, and indeed all such effects as lurk in probable causes, that seem to promise very fairly,
may

may be known alſo in an anſwerable, and proportionable manner, by ſtrong, and ſhrewd conjectures: thus the Phyſician knows the diſeaſe, the Mariner foreſees a ſtorm, & the Shepherd provides for the ſecurity of his flock.

Thus by an intermingled influence of Peace and War, Nations have grown renowned, whereas, either alone deprefſes or extinguishes them; and for this we can give good reaſon.

For Warre files off that ruſt that is apt to canker and eat into the bowels of States; it opens the veins, purifies the bloud, and makes it lively, and generous; it raiſeth and quickneth the ſpirits, and makes the members active,

active and prompt for the highest and noblest achievements.

And Peace it fills the barns, is the Nurse of Trade, from whence grow the golden fineness that strengthen the arms, and makes them able to wield their weapons in the time of war; is the Patroness of learning, the Mistress of Art, the Parent of good and wholesome Laws; needs then must that nation vigorously encrease, on which both these have a joynt and happy influence.

But if any should ask how it is possible to enjoy both? let them go and see how one Spring is made happy by both show'rs and Sun-shine; nay they may be both at once, there may be a foreign War, yet Peace at home,

home, it may rain and ſhine, and that together.

Yet let the drums bellow too long, and people will eccho to them, and become brutiſh, ſavage and barbarous; let war break in on all ſides, and like a deluge it ſweeps all before it, and if any thing be left, it is but mud and dirt.

Or let a long calm come what ſloath, what luxury, what effeminatneſs and cowardice doth it create? how doth it enervate the members, clog the ſpirits, cauſe the blood to putriſie, and corrupt, and beget that lazy and ſcurvy diſeaſe which makes the whole body to draw a faint, ſickly, inglorious, yea, a noiſom breath?

Thus we ſee the ſtanding

C

wa-

waters to corrupt, and naturall bodies craz'd , and resolv'd to their first earth , as much by plurifies as consumptions , by surfeits as famine ; and soules as oft forced by a disease to take their flight, as a sword, and by an inward malady not seldomer than an outward enemy compell'd to quit theit beloved mansions.

And as reason, so examples, and those in all ages, may be brought to back our assertions.

The *Assyrian* , *Caldæan* , and *Persian* Monarchies by arms got footing, and became powerfull, by a mixt peace, they grew into a form of government, & whilst these walked hand in hand, they continued both formidable, and lovely, and to use the scrip-

Scripture expreffion, they were fair as the Moon, bright as the Sun, and terrible as an Army with Banners. This temperature of beauty and terror, order and strength, is the happy *Craſis* of a State; theſe in their true proportions make up the perfect Symetry, and from theſe diſcords ſprings the ſweeteſt harmony in State muſick.

And now, when all their ſayls were fill'd with the proſperous gales of fortune, and there was none but vail'd and ſtoopt unto them, on a ſudden being becalm'd, an effeminate *Sardana-palus*, a drunken *Belſhazzar*, and a luxurious *Darius*, put a period to their greatneſſs; ſo eaſie it is to tumble down hill.

Thus the Roman Monarchy
C2 fell

fell to pieces, and became a prey to barbarous nations, yet out of its ashes arose a Phenix, a maiden Cōmon-wealth, which hath preserv'd her beauty as well as virginity for twelve hundred years without wrinkle or blemish, and hath so often foild the *Ottoman* forces, to whom the Grecian Empire became a prey with little difficulty; so potent is vertue even in the least bodies, and of such advantage is situation, and bad neighbours too sometimes, which will not suffer her antient vertue to be cankered, or eaten with rust.

Thus a few Fisher-Towns among the *Batavers* became a Common-wealth in despite of *Spain*, and *Flanders* to boot, and

and from poor diſtreſſed States are grown *Hogen-Mogens* with the help of *England*, for which they have ſince well rewarded us. But let them take heed leſt their High and Mightineſſes be not brought as low as their ſituation, being grown reſty with their former little ſucceſſes, Peace, and Plenty, and by their treacherous ingratitude made their beſt friend their enemy, to whom they are as much inferior in true valour, as they ſurpaſſe in Pride, Arrogancy, Trechery, and Cruelty.

Yea, to come home, how illuſtrious, and famous did this nation grow in the dayes of *Queen Elizabeth*? What noble Acts? What generous ſpirits did it bring forth? What ſupplies did

did it afford the *Neiherlands*?
What an help was it to *France*,
and what a Scourge and terror
to the usurping *Spaniards*?
whose *Armado* stiled *Invincible*
it not onely sent home wel bea-
ten, but with fire and sword
took revenge in their Ha-
vens and on their Coasts; and
yet into how contemptible a
condition it did relapse by a
long sloath, and how it hath
been undervalued, our own
eyes can witnesse unto us, if
we look a little back, even to
the sadning of our friends, and
rejoycing of our enemies.

Thus the best made Clocks
by long being unwound up ga-
ther rust, and become unfit for
the least motion.

And this that Politick Law-
giver

giver perceiving, gave it in command to the *Spartans*, not to wage war often with one and the same enemy; which when *Agésilas* one of their Kings had neglected to their losse, and his own smart, He was flouted, returning wounded, by *Antalcidas*, with, The *Thebans* have well rewarded thee, O King, whom, unwilling and ignorant, thou hast compeld and taught to conquer.

CHAP. IIII.

An Admonition to many amongst us.

What then may we think of some lately appearing amongst us, who neither mind-

ing their own good, not their masters butrifle, have been bold in the sight of the sun to upbraid those in power with these latter wars, as fomented and raised for their lusts, and our pressure, which by the good hand of Providence hitherto have turned to our honour, and advantage, and it may be have been a means to prevent our ruin; the common Enemy keeping us from quarrelling among ourselves, and as it were binding up our hands from intestine slaughter: for so many and so great divisions there were amongst us, such animosities and heart-burnings in one party against the other, as in that unsettled estate we were in at first. *In sua victrices verten-*
tes

tes viscera dextras , might have turned our weapons into our own bowels, had not heaven in mercy cut out work for us elsewhere , until we were a little better come to our selves What means then the bleatings, and lowings of these Cattel , which are driven like beasts to the slaughter ? for alas fond youths , though your noddles are not full enough to render you suspected of design, yet undoubtedly have you been set a going by some well practiz'd in the art of sedition , and whose concernments and inclinations prodigiously meet in that fatal point, to whom it may seem as natural to live in the fire of contention , as profitable to fish in troubled waters ; consider

but the bottom , and you will
abhor the broachers of this de-
sign, who under the pretence of
crying down forein , would
stir up a civill war; and of ad-
vancing Peace , and Freedom,
raile Rebellion and Confusi-
on, which would inevitably
ruin your Selves, Trades, and
Countrey. Let not any of these
flie *Sinons* make you break
down your own walls, to bring
in so fatal an Engine, a second
Trojan-horse, which will powr
forth armed Tyrants in the
dead of night upon you, whose
understandings they have
charm'd asleep with their false
& counterfeit pretences. *Time-
te Danaos et dona ferentes:* You
cannot be too mistrustfull of
your old Enewy, of whom this
design

deſign ſmells rank; take heed, I ſay, you loſe not your liberty in the noiſe you make for freedom, and whiſt you crowd out Authority, you bring not Tyranny in on pick-back; which your enemies of themſelves deſpair ever to accompliſh.

Thus have I ſeen full-grown fruit which hath withſtood the aſſaults of outward ſtorms, rot with ſuperfluity of innate moyſture, and the double-armed nut reſolv'd to duſt by a worm bred in its own kernel.

Or what ſhall we ſay to a ſecond ſort; thoſe ſons of ſloth, thoſe dregs of a lazy and luxurious peace, who as if their ſouls lay in their bellies, find no content.

tent but in ease and riot? whose whole note is, Where are those golden dayes we once had? Where are our Court-revellings and Masques? Where our Lord-Maiers Feasts and Stews, and all those joviall sports gone, in which *England* was wont to pride herself and triumph? not a Wake, not a morrice-Dance now to be seene, are these the effects of a Parliament? and is this that we have got by fighting? Alas poor souls! you dream't (I'll warrant) a Parliament would have made the *Thames* flow Custard, and turn'd the pebbles on the shore into Garoway-Comfits; have caused Bag-pudding to grow on every Bush, and each pond abound with beef and brewis; have

have commanded the conduits
to run Sack and Clarret, and
the Rivers and Brooks Ale
and strong Beer; and welladay,
your houses are not wall'd with
Hasty Pudding, neither do
Pigs ready roasted come and
cry *Come eat me*; *Lubberland* is as
far off now as ever, and you de-
ceived of all your goodly ex-
pectations; but peace, put fin-
gers out of neyes, and I will tell
you what; yea, what your
Countrey, your Mammee (if
she be not ashamed to own you)
hath got; she hath gained her
freedom, and regain'd her repu-
tation; of a bassel'd, scorn'd,
and despised Kingdom, she is
become a victorious, dreadfull,
and renowned *Common-wealth*;
she that was contemned by
Spain,

a Gale.

b Rec.

c the Downs.

d Rebellion.

e The first

Invasion.

(a) Spain, cudgel'd by

(b) France, brav'd by

(c) Holland, affronted

by (d) Irelād, & baffel'd

by (e) Scotla. hath made

those with whom she hath grap-
 pell'd feel the force of her arms,
 and taught the rest to observe
 their due distance; yea she hath
 done more in four years, than
 your Monarchs could do in four
 hundred; having quell'd Ireland,
 subdued Scotland, cudgel'd Hol-
 land, and with a Navy of near
 two hundred sayl scoured her
 narrow seas, and swept her E-
 nemies Coasts, notwithstand-
 ing her strugglings at home
 with such undutifull sons as
 your selves, who have layd all
 the stumbling-blocks in her way
 they either could or durst.

But

But your Purles pay for this you cry , I warrant you , and so they did for the Puppets and Pageants, the hobby-horses and bells , and all the rest of the Trumperies your souls so much delighted in; as I conceive too you were wont to pay subsidies for your Charters , and your Petition of Right, which you hung by and gaz'd on with as much benefit to your selves then , as now on your Scotch Covenant ; as also Ship-mony, Knighthood-mony , Coat and Conduct-mony , and now and then you received a Privy-seal; your Carts now and then did attend the Court , and your Oxen , Sheep , Horses , Hay, Straw, Oats , &c. were taken up at the Kings price, and that paid

payd too, when you could get it; there were slavish tenures, and a Court of Wards, a Star-Chamber, and an High-Commission Court with its appurtenances in each Diocesse; Justices in Eire, and Forrest laws, &c. which cost you something; but you will be wiser upon second thoughts, put on your considering caps than, for you know not what you may come too; what though you are out of hopes of being Courtiers you may be Patriots, and instead of being slaves to flattery, become Patroners of liberty; what though you cannot buy Knight-hoods, and Lordships, yet may you purchase never-dying honour to your names by faithfully serving your God, and Country;

trety. Act then vertuously, and let posterity find your names in the Van of good Commonwealths-men, among the first Ranks of the Assertors of Liberty. Which of you, were you to choose, would not rather be read in history a *Brutus*, than a *Tarquin*; an *Aristogiton*, than a *Pisistratus*; a *Pelopidas*, than an *Archas*; a *Timoleon*, than a *Dionysius*? whether doth the name of *Lancaster*, or *Gaveston*, *Hereford*, or *Spencer*, make the pleasinger found in English ears? and which were accounted Martyrs, which Traitors, in the thoughts of your generous Ancestors? and if all this will not prevail with you, if duty and honour appear small in your eyes, yet profit sure will do much,

much; it is the way to thrive; for it is more than probable that the Commonwealth will survive its enemies, and there are certain symptoms of its welfare.

That Providence which hath hitherto brooded upon it, and hatcht it into this perfection, that hand of Omnipotency which hath given assured tokens of assistance from heaven, hath in text-letters written its fortune on its forehead, so that the least read in *Physiognomy* may spell it out. The Schoolmen observe, *Divina voluntas, licet simpliciter libera sit ad extra, ex suppositione tamen unius actus liberi, potest necessitari ad alium.* We shall not go so high, but this we shall say, that where
 God

God hath so visibly owned a nation, he will never draw back his hand unlesse upon some notorious provocation. Lift up your eyes then, *Os homini sublime dedit, cælumque videre jussit, & erectos ad sidera tollere vultus,* which were given you to this end, and contemplate the works of your gracious Creator, it is your duty so to do, and he expects it at your hands; be not rebels to nature, nor make frustrate the admirable frame of your creation, w^{ch} wil argue you not only ingrate, but worse than brutish, yea put you in the lower form, to the beasts that perish, for as the Heathen Satyrist, *Sensum è cælesti demissum traximus arce,*

Cujus

*Cujus egent prona , & terram
 spectantia ; mundi
 Principio indulsit communis
 Conditor illis
 Tantum animas, nobis animum
 quoque.*

But lest there should be some so ignorant that they cannot, others so lazy that they will not take the pains to read this hand-writing from heaven, I will endeavour so plainly to set it before them, that *Fronaque si spectent animalia*, if they look but downwards, will they, nill they, they shal perceive it, unless they blindfold themselves, and wink out of design ; and for such Moles , let them enjoy their dark Caverns , and there delve and dig untill they have laid themselves as low as they desire

deſire, or deſerve; let their affected ſhades envelopethem, and not the ſmalleſt ſtar diſturb their Cimmærian enjoyments; let the nights black Quiriſters, Ravens and Scrich-Owls, ſing Anthems and Requiemſto their ſouls, and no ſun ariſe to diſturb the muſick, and diſſolve the lucky conſort.

CHAP. V.

How England became a Commonwealth, and what may be expected from ſuch a Beginning.

THe Engliſh Nation by a long and bloody civill War being awak't out of that ſleep which had almoſt brought a Lethargy upon her, (like an angry

angry Lion rows'd and enrag'd
with the smart of his wounds)
resolutely, and with a courage
not unworthy the nobility of
her Stock, sets upon the foe
that had so gall'd her, and soon
brought him under her feet;
then disdaining to wear the
fetters of a conquered enemy,
assumes the power God
then, and Nature at first had in-
vested her with, and assumes her
pristine freedom.

Thus *Bellona* was the Midwife
which brought *England* to bed
of the Common-wealth, which
was no sooner born, but she
swaddled her in Ensigns torn
from her proudest toes, and
adorned her cradle with Tro-
phies of victory! O sacred and
happy birth! what Triumphs
at-

attend thy youth, and what
Lawrells shall encircle thy man-
ly front? Thou that hast strang-
led serpents in thy cradle, givest
us hopes, that the seven-headed
Hydra shall fall by thee when
thou hast attained thy full
strength; and who hast made it
as it were thy sport to pull
down petty Tyrants, wilt make
it thy business to destroy the
grand Impostor; that as with thy
fist thou hast given him a box
on the ear, so with thy sword
thou wilt divide his head from
his shoulders; For what lesse
than a Triple Crown can attend
thy Chariot, whose go-cart is
lackied on by Crowns in cou-
ples? for great, even for so great
things sure hath Providence re-
serv'd thee, whom she hath so
care-

carefully tended in thy infancy;
for though she hath suffered
thine enemies to rise against
thee, yet so tender a regard hath
she had of thy youth, that she
put hooks as it were in their
nostrils, and restrained them
from uniting, whom single she
knew thee able to grapple with;
so that their malice hath aug-
mented thy glory, and by their
endeavouring to ruin thee, they
have encreased thy power, ma-
king themselves but Touch-
stones to convince the world of
the purity of thy metal, and on
their own shoulders advancing
thee above an ordinary height;
that the World might take no-
tice of thy growth, and stature;
and as with thee, so hath she
done with others, even with all
those

all thoſe whom ſhe intended to advance; examples of which, both divine, and humane hiſtories abundantly offer to our view. Thus was it with *Iſrael* in their conquering the promiſed land, *Sihon* king of the *Amorites* firſt ſets upon them, then *Og* king of *Baſhan* came out againſt them, &c. thus we find it with divers others in other Authors, which to avoid prolixity I ſhall paſſe by, inſtancing in one and that ſo well known, that few, if any there be, but have heard thereof, and that the Common-wealth of *Rome*, which from a ſmall beginning grew up into ſo vaſt a body, that her Eagles-wings ſpread over the greateſt part of the then known world.

CHAP. VI.

The beginning of the Commonwealth of Rome, and the causes of its growth.

THis City, or rather Town of *Rome*, being founded by *Romulus*, and inhabitants gathered together from divers places, was no sooner built, but it was threatned with ruin in its very infancy, and the best it could expect was but an ages duration; for the greatest part of the inhabitants being single, all hope of issue was cut off, which only could afford it a longer life: Wives thus wanting, and none to be obtained by consent, so

ſo contemptible were they in the eyes of their neighbours, they attempt what craft and force would do; and their Plot ſucceeded to their minds; for having proclaimed publick plays, and invited their neighbours, they ſuddenly provided themſelves wives of the *Sabine* Virgins, which came with their Parents to be ſpectators.

Yet this remedy ſeemed as dangerous as the diſeaſe; for the *Sabines* were a great and warlike nation, and a Colony of the *Spartans*, after whoſe manner they lived in Towns without walls, reputing themſelves ſafe in their own valour, and the *Romans* could not but expect they would reſent the affront. But ſee how fortune (which we

Christians truly tearm Providence) gave them assistance, by giving let to the conjunction of their enemies, though of one nation, and alike interested in the quarrell.

First, the *Caninenses* come against them, whose King being slain by *Romulus* in fight hand to hand, and their Army defeated, were compelled to leave their old habitations, and go and dwell at *Rome* by the Conqueror, who by this means encreased his strength as well as reputation, and became the better able to deal with the rest.

This war done, the *Fidenates*, *Crustumini* and *Antenates* begin another, and run the same fortune, and likewise being incorporated with the Victors still encrease

encrease the *Roman* Stock.

The rest grown wise by these examples unite, and put the *Romans* to such a plunge, that it was easie to conjecture what have would have been the issue, had they taken this course at first; but by the intercession of the women running in between the armies, a peace was made, and both Nations joyned in one, the City keeping its old name of *Rome* from *Romulus*, the people being called *Quirites* from the chief Tribe of the *Sabines*, the *Roman* and *Sabine* Kings jointly reigning.

Now could the wisest among the sons of mē have judged that a rape should have begot an union? but there is an hand above disposes of things above our

suppositions, which continued its favour till *Rome* grew of perfect strength. This was he that withdrew *Perfenna*, and changed his enmity into love, and admiration; that restrained any warlike *Marcian* or *Lucan*, any *Mulius*, *Silo*, or *Telefinus* with the joint forces of *Italy* from falling upon her; untill she was able to bear the storm; that cut supplies off from *Hannibal* when he had almost born down all before him, and made the envy of his own Citizens instrumental to their own ruin; that made *Antiochus* sit still until *Philip* was brought under, and *Tigranes* look on until *Mithridates* was beaten out of his kingdom, yea that provided work by the *Sarmatians* for *Mithridates* till the

the *Marsian* war was over; that divided the *Cimbri* and *Teutones* so, that *Marinus* when he had overthrown one party, had time to joyn with the other *Consull* to help destroy the other, and suffered not three hundred thousand fighting men in one body to attempt *Italy*; and in like manner the slaves, and fencers, giving *Crassus* opportunity to defeat them, who had ranged *Italy*, and oft put the *Roman* Armies to rout; that by a few Geese saved the *Capitol*, and caused the unjust banishment of *Camillus* to be a means to preserve *Rome*.

CHAP. VII.

A Parallel.

ANd hath not Providence in the same manner dealt with this *Common-wealth*? which was no sooner established in *England*, but it was threatned from *Ireland*, where *Dublin*, *Derry*, and a few forces under Generall *Monk* were onely left us, two being besieged, and the third in an incapacity to afford them relief; when things were thus desperate, God divided the Rebels, and made *O Neal* instrumental in the relief of *Derry*, neither could they be pieced untill *Ormond* was totally broke, and

and the other party under the Popiſh Biſhop of *Clogher*, fought and routed.

The *Irish* cloud almost diſſolved, a *Scotch* ſtorm threatens us, which yet came not on ſo ſuddenly, but that we had time to provide ſhelter, (Providence cauſing them to trifle away much time in their treaties, and other mockeries) inſomuch that the greateſt part of it fell in their own Nation, the tayl only beſprinkling ſome parts of this, where it totally vaniſhed.

And here we can never ſufficiently admire Gods goodneſſe to this Common-wealth, who when the enemy had given our Army the ſlip, and left them ſo far behind them, ſuffered them

not to march up to *London*, but to empound themselves at *Worcester*, and so over-ruled the hearts of this Nation, that notwithstanding the malice and hatred of many to the present Government, yet not any considerable person, or number, joyned with the enemy, even marching through the most discontented and disaffected Counties.

The *North* being cleared, the *Dutch* jealous of our encrease, who have found the sweetness of a State Government, endeavour to clip our wings, and to usurp our long held sovereignty of the seas, having undermined our Trading a long while before; but they may put what they have got by it in their eyes with-

without any danger, unlesse of making themselves weep, notwithstanding their treacherous and base attempt upon a small Squadron with one of our Generals in the time of Treaty, and before denouncing a war, and that even upon our own coast; whilst we besides the honour, and repute gained abroad, are grown more potent at sea in one year, than we had like to have been in many ages, had they let us been at quiet; and even thus the *Carthaginians* compell'd the *Romans* to become Masters at sea, by their injuries provoking that stout nation to adventure a sea fight, though so ignorant, that the Consull taught them to row by sitting, and beating poles on the sand; and truely
little

little better sea-men were our Redcoats at first.

CH A P. VIII.

Of Providence, and Vertue, and the concurrence of second causes.

ANd sure now no *Christian* but will acknowledge a divine hand over-ruling in these actings for *Englands* preservation, which even the *Heathen* observ'd by their dim light, in *Romes* advancement.

Thus we find that ingenuous moralist *Plutarch* affirming, that though there hath been a great and continual war, and feud between *Fortune* and *Vertue*, yet it is

is probable, they made a truce, and united their forces for *Romes* assistance.

Again, as they report *Venus* passing over the River *Eurotas* laid aside her looking-glasse, attire, and girdle, and took a spear and a shield to accompany *Lycurgus*; so *Fortune* having deserted the *Assyrians*, and *Persians*, hovered over *Macedon*, suddenly shook off *Alexander*, view'd *Egypt* and *Syria*, seemingly advanc'd *Carthage*, at last past *Tiber*, laid aside her wings, and set up her residence in the *Capitol*.

And as He, so the *Romans* themselves were sensible of this divine aid, as the multitude of Temples dedicated to *Fortune* may demonstrate; there was the

the Temple of *Fortuna virilis*:
Fortuna muliebris: *Fortuna pri-*
mogenia & *obsequentis*: *For-*
tuna privata & *Viscatri-*
cis: *Fortuna virginis*: *For-*
tuna bonæ spei: *Fortuna mascule*:
Fortis Fortuna, &c.

Yet did they not attribute all
to *Fortune*, and neglect *Vertue*,
of which they were as great ad-
mirers, and honourers, as they
were adorers of the other; and
Plutarch gives it a due place:
Rome was (saith he) conducted
and encompassed with whole
troops of *Citizens*, brandishing
bloody weapons, enobled with
scars received before, bedewed
with blood and sweat, and lea-
ning on half-broken *Trophies*,
such as her *Fabricii*, *Camilli*, *Cin-*
cinnati, *Fabii*, *Æmillii*, *Marcelli*,
Scipiones, &c.

And

And let us but consider, and we shall see that Providence works by instruments, and God expects the use of means ; we cannot suppose a victory without a fight; lying still, and wishing will do nothing, *Di munera sua laboribus vendunt*, it was not hid from the Heathen, that the active onely were to expect a blessing ; the hand of the diligent makes rich, and vertuous actions advance States and Persons to honour and dignity. For though *scientia Dei*, the knowledg of God be the Cause of things, yet being but the Remote cause it takes not away Contingency : God himself perceives that some things will *evenire contingenter*, for he doth not onely *cognoscere res*,
sed

sed ordinem et modum rerum,
 know things, but the order
 and manner how they shall
 come to passe; He knows there
 are *causæ intermediae*, which are
impedibiles et defectibiles (as the
 Schoolmen say) and from the
 wavering of these Second causes
 the whole rise of Contingency
 flowes; thus in a Syllogism,
 let the Major be Necessary, if the
 Minor be Contingent, the Con-
 clusion will be so too; though
 the First cause be certain, yet if
 there be obstructions in the Se-
 cond, no man can assure him-
 self what will be the effect;
 though the spring of motion
 cannot fail, yet if the wheels
 break, the progresse will be very
 uncertain to all but God, who
 knows whether they will break

or

or ne
 a Na
 no;
 bleff
 ther
 Plen
 Stren
 his g
 good
 riot:
 dark;
 blind
 on th
 we m
 peop
 minar
 is not
 before
 wealt
 exam
 as it g
 uppar

or no; He knows whether such a Nation will use the means or no; whether it will improve his blessings, or abuse them; whether it will imploy the Peace, Plenty, Wealth, Power, and Strength it hath received for his glory, and the common good, or for Pride, Luxury, and riot: so that we only are in the dark; yet not altogether are we blind, but where we see Vertue on the throne in a Nation, there we may foretel a blessing to that people, and where Vice predominant, that its attendant Ruin is not far off; and for this the before-mentioned Commonwealth of *Rome* affords us an example in both kinds; which as it grew up by Vertue to an unparallel'd height, so by Vice was

was its strength broken, and its renown turned into shame, that *Dalilab* betraying this mighty *Sampson* into the hands of his enemies, who have fettered him, and pulled out his eyes: It will not therefore I suppose be a work unworthy our labour to take a view of those virtues, by which, that, as other Nations have become renowned, and set them for our example; for though Heathens, they attained to a great height of morality, yea such an one as may put most that wear the stile of Christians to the blush.

CHAP.

of the
Ecc
theA
the c
indee
rest;
the m
aw v
suade
and v
purit
socie
it, a
Book
No

CHAP. IX.

of the Piety of the Romans ; the
Evill and Danger of Mock-
thanksgivings.

ANd first let us behold their
Piety, which is not onely
the cheif, but the file-leader, and
indeed the ground of all the
rest; this is that which bridles
the most unruly, and strikes an
aw where reason cannot per-
suade ; let this be taken away,
and with it all fidelity, justice,
purity vanish, yea humane
society cannot subsist without
it, as *Cicero* observes in his first
Book *de Nat. Deor.*

Never did they begin any
business

business without frequent supplications. *Civitas religiosa in principiis maxime novorum bellorum, supplicationibus habitis, & obsecratione circa omnia pulvinaria facta, Ludos Jovi, donumque vovere Consulem jussit. Livie dec. 4. l. 1. Supplicatio à Consulibus in triduum ex Senatus-consulto indicta est, obsecratique circa omnia pulvinaria Dii, quod bellum populus jussisset, id bene, ac feliciter eviniret. Idem in eodem.*

Never did they obtain a victory, or receive a deliverance, but publick thanksgivings were decreed, and those for one, three, or more dayes, according to the greatnesse of the benefit; *Magna victoria lætitiæque Roma fuit literis allatis, supplicatio in triduum decreta est, & 40. majores*

res bo
Thus
ced to
years
of it,
and p
nt qu
naria
major
vigin
Ne
mock
for a
recei
perla
lesse
ble b
is thi
man
the
spoke
were

res

res hostiæ immolari iussa. Livy.
Thus when Hannibal was forced to leave Italy after sixteen years war, they no sooner heard of it, but they ordered solemn and publick thanks. *Decretum ut quinque dies circa omnia pulvinaria supplicaretur, victimaque majores immolarentur centum & viginti.*

Never shall we find them mocking heaven, giving thanks for a victory, when they had received a losse. A practice so superlatively impious, that any lesse than an *Atheist* must tremble but to think on; for what is this but to abuse God, that man may be deceived, making the divine power (may it be spoken with reverence) as it were a stalking-horse to drive the

the befool'd people into their nets? What is this other than a profest Declaration that their sole confidence is in the arm of flesh, not caring how they undervalew Gods glory, so they may maintain their own reputation, how they provoke him, so they may but keep up the spirits of their own party? *Flectere si nequeunt superos Acheronta movebunt*, Sith God hath forsaken them, they will try what the Devill will do; sith Heaven refuses, they will try what hel will afford them; poor wretches, not at all considering, that whilst they endeavour to rally, and patch together a poor, routed and broken party of frail men, they make omnipotency their foe, defying

che

the Almighty himself in so publick a manner, that he is engaged by that which is most dear to him, his own glory, to revenge the affront; It is evident then how good a match they are like to have of it. Neither doth their wickedness stop here; tis not against God only they sin, but men also; they are not only Traytours against the Majesty of Heaven, but their trust on earth, betraying their own poor people which repose their confidence in them, by rendering them obstinate and proud upon hopes of false success, which knew they but the truth, and their own weakness, might make their peace to the preservation of many of their lives, and much of their fortunes;

tunes; and drawing the blood and miseries of their neighbour nations upon their own heads, falsely seduced to embark with them in their ill-thriving quarrel, wherein unawares they often are oppressed when they foolishly supposed all cock-sure.

Yet hath this impious and treacherous piece of policy been acted again and again in our eyes, with horreur and amazement may we speak it, even by those who would be thought Christians: yea may not this clothe many of the *Oxford*-thanksgiving dayes in red, and put our *Dutch* foes, if they have any ingenuity, to the blush, who not content by their emissaries abroad to abuse all

. *Europe*

Europe with brags and lyes, have of late ordered a day of Publick Thankſgiving at home to gull their own people into conceit of victory, not without a *Piaculum*, which may coſt them dear before it be expiated. For he that is High and Mighty indeed, neither can be deceived, nor will be out-faced by any impudency whatſoever, and they had beſt conſider whether they are able to engage with him too, whom they dare affront in the ſight of Angels and Men.

Courage then brave Engliſh-men, you ſee what ſhifts your enemies are put to, you have beaten them out of their confidence in the rock of ages, and forced them to make lyes their
E refuge,

refuge, a wretched defence, and such as cannot long protect the; behold what low-spirited foes you have to deal with, even such as dare not take notice of a losse; alas how far short come these of the *Roman* Fortitude as well as Piety, whom you shall see according to that of their own *Virgil*, *Tu ne cede malis, sed contra audentior ito*, so far from being basely dejected by losses, though comming one on the back of another, that their courage rather encreased, being prick't on with shame and a desire to regain their lost honour, which stil buoied them up when in greatest danger of sinking; this is that true sober valour grounded on a right sense of honour, and due love to the publick,

lick, v
powe
make
that
rious
whic
imbr
occal
herea
to ou
we fi
this
ven,
Th
the le
of the
sough
lick a
pease
this v
lustra
the f

ick, which needed neither gun-powder nor brand-wine to make them fight lustick; this is that which rendred them victorious and triumphant, and which will enable you if you embrace it. But we shall have occasion to speak of this more hereafter; let us return therefore to our generous *Romans*, whom we find (I say) so far from this impious mocking, of Heaven,

That on the contrary, upon the least sense or apprehension of their Gods displeasure, They sought by all humble and Publick addresses to pacifie and appease their incensed Dieties: for this we may see their frequent lustrations and deprecations, the first to purge and cleanse

themselves, the second to avert and turn away their Gods anger. *Horum Prodigiorum causa decemviri libris adire jussi, et novēdiale sacrum factum, & supplicatio indicta est, atque urbs lustrata.* Liv. Dec. 4. 1. 6.

Lastly, besieging an enemies City, they would invoke the Gods of that place, imploring their aid, and deprecating their anger, by inviting them to go with them to Rome with the promise of more magnificent Temples, and a more splendid adoration: so great a care had they not to provoke Heaven, and so fearfull were they to engage against it.

CHAP.

CHAP. X.

*Piety and Valour not inconsistent
Piety rewarded in Heathens, and
Impiety punished.*

ANd here by the way may
be observed, that *Piety* and
Valour are not inconsistent, and
that *Religion* maketh not men
Cowards. What Nation ever
was more valiant, and what
more religious than the *Romans*
who were so strict in their di-
vine worship, that they would
chooſe rather to lay themselves
open to their enemies arms,
than by omitting the least
part of it, to their Gods displea-
ſure : an eminent example of
E 3 which

which we have in that war of the *Gauls* which succeeded the first Punick, in which when *Flaminius* and *Furius* the Consuls were gone against the Enemy with great Forces, the *Augurs* having found that some things were omitted in their election, They were commanded by letters from the *Senate* to return presently and abjure their offices, which Letters *Flaminius* not opening until he had fought and routed the Enemy, and made a memorable invasion of their Countrey, though he returned crowned with victory, and laden with spoil, not one went out to meet him, nay he had much ado to obtain a Triumph, (which was no sooner past, but both He and his
Colleague

Colleague were conſtrained to lay aſide their Conſulſhips) be-
 cauſe he ſeemed to have con-
 temned & made flight of their
 holy Rites; they eſteeming it
 more conducing to the com-
 mon ſafety that their Gods
 ſhould be obſerved, than their
 Enemies overcome, and rather
 chooſing to leave their Armies
 without Commanders, though
 in a war reputed ſo dangerous
 as that of the *Gauls*, in which
 their Priests were not exemp-
 ted from bearing Arms, than
 omit the leaſt Punctilio in
 their worſhip, ſo zealous and
 tender were they in matters
 concerning their Religion.
 Thus when they were beſieged
 by the *Gauls* in the *Capitol*, and
 the day approached wherein
 E 4 their

their solemn Sacrifice was to be performed in *Colle Quirinali*, the Hill so called, rather than to omit their duty to Heaven, they ventured through the very midst of their Enemies Camp, and having performed their Rites, returned with safety, their Enemies either being amazed at the boldnesse of the Attempt, or mooved with respect to Religion, which present death could not deter them from performing.

And though their Religion were idolatrous, yet according to their light being zealous they reaped the reward of a temporal prosperity : which some among them despising, smarted for to the purpose, in their own ruin // reaping the reward of their

their
Rel
Gra
ses a
bun
upo
lost
with
rem
nou
pey
wit
dis
ent
Ten
com
nev
ove
ing
his
the
no

their Impiety and contempt of Religion : Thus we shall see *Crassus* who slighting the Curses and Execrations of the Tribune *Ateius* , would make war upon the *Parthians* , where he lost his own and his sons life, with most of his Army, the poor remainder escaping by a dishonourable flight : and thus *Pompey* the great, who would, notwithstanding the intreaties and diswaſions of the High-Priest, enter the Holy of Holies in the Temple of *Jerusalem* , in his coming out fell down , and never after prospered, but being overthrown by *Cæſar*, and flying into *Ægypt* , lost his head, his body being left unburied on the sands : and though he were no Jew, yet being a *Roman* by

Religion he was bound to reverence all Deities, as the *Parthenon* the Temple of all the Gods at *Rome* may demonstrate.

Neither need we wonder to see even a superstitious and idolatrous worship in the Heathens who knew no better, rewarded with outward blessings: Sith whatsoever is lovely in Nature is acceptable even to God himself, for 'tis a print of Himself, and He doth proportion some temporal rewards unto it; the courage of *Romulus*, the devotion of *Numa*, the integrity of *Fabritius*, the temperance, and justice, and public spiritednesse of the rest, had all some rewards scatter'd amongst them, and can we think their Piety had no share? which

which is so agreeable to nature, and so deeply imprinted by it on mans heart, that man, even the stubbornest, and most unwilling otherwise to submit, yet will fall down and worship a Stock or Stone rather than be without a Deity, will devise a Religion rather than be without one; but more of this in the next.

CHAP. XI.

*Religion ingrafted in mans heart
by Nature.*

VVE hear the Philosopher thus reasoning, Do not the imperfect serve the more perfect, as the Elements mixt

mixt bodies, mixt bodies plants, plants living creatures, living creatures and all the rest man, nay hath not the soul a masterlike rule over the body, and the understanding an empire over the appetite, ἡ μὲν ψυχὴ τῷ σῶμα ὁ ἀρχὴ δεσποικὴν ἀρχὴν, ὁ δὲ νῦν τῆς ὀρέξεως πολιτικὴν καὶ βασιλικὴν, and now when by nature it is thought convenient for the inferiour to serve the superiour, ought not man to judge it best for him to serve the most wise and good God?

Cicero saith we cannot be just, unlesse we be religious, *Fietas justitia quaedam est adversus deos*, lib. 1. de nat. Deor.

Epictetus, if I were a Nightingale, I would do as a Nightingale, but being a man what shall

I do? I will praise God ; and that without ceasing.

Nay *Epicurus* himself though he taught that God ἔτε πρῶτα-
τα ἔχειν τε παρέχειν; neither did any thing himself, nor commanded others to do, yet affirmed that his nature was so excellent and glorious, that it alone was sufficient to allure a wiseman to adore him.

Could the Heathen grope thus far, and shall we that have the name to be Christians lagge behind them, could they perceive thus much by the glimmering light of nature, and shall we be blind in the glorious sunshine of the Gospel? for shame let us open our eyes, lest they rise in judgement, and condemn us, and it be more tollerable
for

for them than us in that great day, when the Lord shall appear with thousands and ten thousands of Saints and Angels. Behold O *England* to be religious is the way to thrive, Godliness will be thy gain both here and hereafter.

CHAP. XII.

The outward means to be used; Ministers to be encouraged, and maintained; the Christian Magistrates duty.

NOW that we may be so, we are to use all means God hath appointed for the obtaining the true knowledge of him, and his will, which is the ground.

ground of Religion; for as our knowledge is true or false, so will our Religion be too; and the ordinary means are the reading and hearing of the sacred Scriptures, for faith comes by hearing, and how shall we hear unless we are taught, and how shall we be taught without a Teacher? In the first place therefore as we ought to have a holy esteem of his word, so ought we to have a reverent esteem of the faithfull and able dispensers of it, giving them all due encouragement and maintenance, that they may be the better enabled cheerfully to follow that work whereunto they are called, of winning souls unto Christ.

And this is a duty incumbent on
the

the Christian Magistrate, who is to use all lawful means to promote Religion, and to restrain prophanesse, for he beareth not the sword in vain, but for terrour of evill doers, and encouragement of those that do well. And here let me not be mistaken, for though I believe it is their duty to punish those grand Traytours against the majesty of Heaven, blasphemers I mean, and all other publick disturbers of the civill peace and quiet of the nation; yet on the other side to force all men to submit to one form, or to be of such or such a general received opinion in every tittle, under penalty of Censures civil and ecclesiastical, I conceive a Tyranny as little to be suffered by the Magistrate,

strate, as it had been for *Saul* to have suffered *Nabab* the *Ammonite* to put out the right eyes of the *Gilcadites*, for indeed this were to put out both our eyes.

For it is God and none but God that can assure us of his own mind, though he do reveal his mind by a creature, there will be some tremblings, and waverings in the soul, unlesse he doth withall satisfie the soul that such a creature doth communicate his mind truely and really as it is, so that ultimately the certainty is resolved into the voice of God, who is onely to rule his Church *αὐτοκρατορικῶς καὶ νομοθετικῶς*, by a determining and legillative power; Men that are fitted by God are to guide

guide and direct *καὶ ἐγγυλισκῶς καὶ ἐμπνευστικῶς*, in way of subserviency to him, and by an explication of his mind, yet so that every one may judge of this *ἰδιωτικῶς καὶ ἀνεγκλινῶς*, by acts of their own understanding illuminated by the Spirit of God, for there are no Representatives in spirituals, men may represent the bodies of others in civil and temporal affairs, and thus a bodily obedience is due to a just authority, but there is none can alwayes represent the mind and judgement of another in the vitals and inwards of religion; for as a late Bishop of our own, *ad nudam præscriptionem, aut determinationem alterius sine lumine privati iudicii nemo est qui credere potest etiam si cupiat maximè*; No man

man let him desire it never so much can believe the bare determination of another unlesse his own judgement concur; a truth that condemns the anti-christian practices of the rest that were of that order, and *Mirandula* gives the reason of it, for says he, *Nemo credit aliquid verum præcisè quia vult credere illud esse verum, non est enim in potentia hominis facere aliquid apparere intellectui suo verum, quando ipse voluerit*: No man believes a thing because he will believe it, for it is not in the power of man to make a thing appear what he wil to his understanding; and indeed, before there can be faith there must not only be a knowledg of the thing to be believed; but an inclination also of the

un-

understanding to assent to it when known ; should we not judge that man a Tyrant that should command us to renounce our sense , to believe that to be white that we see to be black, to believe that to be sweeter than honey , that we taste to be bitterer than gaul? what are those then that would force us to disclaim our understandings, and make us believe that to be true, w^{ch} we conceive or know to be false ? and yet what cruelty in this kind hath been practized by the *Papists* ? What by the *Prelates* ? What by some that succeeded them, and yet de-cryed it in them? yea what by some of those who will cry out for Liberty of conscience too?

CHAP. XIII.

Religion not to be made a Stalking-Horse to Ambition, or Avarice.

IF any shall but question in the least, these mens *jus divinum*, presently they are Hereticks, Schismatics, Sectaries, &c.

If any man shall not have the same whirligiggs in their pates as the other, or will not assent in an instant to what ever Chymæra their rambling fancies produce, let them be what they will, Parliament or City, Magistrates or private persons, Teachers or Hearers, presently pray them down, purge them, they are

are self-seekers, Tyrants, Enemies to the Saints, Antichristian, and *Baals* Priests, and what not, yea such as are to be destroyed.

Yet by your leave furious Saint, you must excuse our diffidence of your tenents, yea and of your Saint-ship too, until we perceive more ground for the, and find a better temper in you; our Lord and Master I am sure hath given us ground to doubt you, and I hope the servant is not above the Lord, it will be best for us then to observe him, When his disciples would have had fire commanded from heaven, He tels them, *ye know not what manner of Spirit you are of, for the Son of Man is not come to destroy souls but to*
save

ſave them ; we know who is *Abaddon*, *Ἀπολλυών*, the Deſtroyer, and it is his badg to be ſpitting of fire; why is it not as lawfull for us to queſtion an opinion though it have your ſtamp and ſuperſcription upon it, as it was for the *Bereans* to bring even Apoſtolicall words to the touch-ſtone? Yet were they rewarded by Saint *Paul* with the title of *εὐαγγελισταί*, more noble, an Epithite we cannot find in your Catalogue. But you will ſay, they believed, they did indeed, but not hand over head, and ſo may we when we find the ſame Spirit bearing witneſſe to your doctrine which did to the Apoſtles.

But through all your canting-language we do diſcover your
 ſins,

aimes, indeed out of the abundance of the heart your tongues tell us, you would be popular, great and powerfull, and enjoy the fat things of the earth, these only belong to you and your tribe, you are to rule the Nations, to bind their kings in chains, and their nobles with fetters of iron; the old itch of temporal Lordship is wretchedly broke out upon you, your hands are the hands of *Esaú*, though your voice be the voice of *Jacob*, your practices are unchristian, though your profession be sanctity; Christ he promises to make his disciples fishers of men, but you fish for honour, worldly power, and riches for your followers, a bewitching bait to catch poor mortals: we
read

read of the devil tempting our head with the kingdoms of the world, and the glory of them, but from whom have you Commission thus to tempt his members? Who gave you authority to dispose of worldly powers? Is your Masters kingdom of this world? If it be, we must rank you with those anti-christian usurpers, who arrogate to themselves a power above all that is called God: What more doth that man of *Rome*? whom we find bestowing the kingdoms of the world on those that will bow down and worship him, but cursing, deposing, and turning out of office all that refuse to subscribe to his fopperies. Thus we see *Mahomet* not with this load-

F stone

stone drawing men, but with his Sword conquering them, he drawes his Sword, bids them deliver up their Souls, and upon this condition he will spare their lives: *Signa illa quæ Tyrannis et latronibus non defunt*, what more do Tyrants and Thieves? But sure the Christian Religion stands not in need of such helps, whose principles in themselves are attractive and magnetical, enamouring souls, and leading them captive in the filken bonds of love with the cords of a man.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIV.

*The benefit of Humane Learning,
with an answer to ſome objections
made againſt it.*

A Nother ſort there is wrig-
gled in amongſt us, who e-
ven in print and pulpits pub-
lickly bray againſt learning, en-
deavouring to ſeduce people in-
to a belief that humane learning
as they call it, is in no meaſure
to be tolerated in a Goſpel-Tea-
cher, moſt wretchedly wreſt-
ing Scripture to apply thoſe
texts againſt preaching them-
ſelves to overthrow it; a falla-
cie ſo baſe that they had need to
cry up ignorance leſt the cheat
F 2 ſhould

should be descried: as if learning and preaching themselves were *termini convertibiles*, the one necessarily implying the other; whereas it is commonly quite contrary; it is your Sciolist, your fellow [that hath scarce wet his lips in that sacred fountain, who will be dabling and patching that he may be thought a Scholer, when as the most learned men, who are conscious of their own sufficiency, seldome or never, unless upon just, and necessary occasions make the least shew of it in their publick teaching. The truth of this is verified dayly in our eyes by the continual practice of many learned men amongst us. Where shall we find more powerfull plainness, than in the works

works of the learned *Bolton*, to omit the names of the reſt, which are ſo well known to all; thus ſhall we ſee your coward, the common Braggadochio, and thoſe the greateſt boaſters who have the leaſt in them; for ſuch being conſcious off their own baſeneſs, endeavour to make others believe them to be brave *Fellows*, which they know themſelves not to be, and to make up in ſhew what they want in reality; whereas your valiant man is ſtill ſilent, and lets his acts ſpeak for him, knowing according to the proverb, that Good *Wine* needs no *Buſh*, and that worth will be taken notice of without proclaiming it at the *Market Croſs*.

2. But the *Apoſtles* were poor

Fishermen, and the like, altogether unlearned, and therefore the *Gospel Ministers* ought to be so too. O Horrid, Jesuitical, nay Diabolical *Sophistry*! We acknowledge that the only wise *God* in the carrying on of his great and glorious *works* usually makes use of such *instruments*, as seem despicable, and contemptible in the eyes of men, yea such as are altogether unable and unfit to hatch and carry on designs of their own, the more to manifest that it is his *work*, and to shew his strength in their weakness, which, unless supported by *Omnipotency*, would sink under it, as also to leave the *obstinate* without *excuse*: but though these may seem weak, yet are they made mighty through

through the power of God that
 ſtrengthens them, and are abund-
 dantly ſupplied from above
 with what gifts and graces
 ſoever are neceſſary for them :
 Thus the *Apoſtles* being poor un-
 learned *Fiſhermen*, and the like,
 once called, and inveſted with
 the *Apoſtleſhip*, were endued
 from above, had the gift of
Tongues, immediately were
 taught by the *Holy Ghoſt* : and
 who dares affirm them *unlearned*
 then? or deny ſkill in the *tongues*
 neceſſary for the office of a *Tea-*
cher, which God, who doth
 nothing in vain, by *Miracle* be-
 ſtowed upon them? And what
 now though they wanted ac-
 quired *Learning*, ſo they had it
 infused? and God was pleaſed
 in that extraordinary time, in an

extraordinary manner to endow them, must we therefore now neglect the ordinary means, and tempt God to work a *Miracle* to be able to answer a *Gain-sayer*? but let us but consider how faithful an handmaid *learning* hath been to *religion*; how the *Armor-bearer* hath helped *Jonathan* to destroy the *Philistines*; how necessary it hath been to maintain *Religion*, and oppose *Idolatry*; by the help of *Learning* have the *Ministry* of *England* been enabled to defend the *truth*, and oppose *error*, to ward off, and put by the blowes and thrusts of their *Anti-christian* adversaries, and to strike with the edge, and give them the true point, to the wounding & destroying of their
su-

superstitious tenents. Thus we see the learned *Whitacre* disarm their *Goliath*, confute their *Bellarmino*, foyl their chosen *Champion*, unwind the subtil *Jesuite*, trace him through all his *Meanders*, meet him at every turn, beat him from outwork to outwork, from sconce to sconce, till he hath driven him out of all his strengths, and left him not a lurking hole to hide his head in; when the most that we could expect from a *Dean of Dunstable* could be *Bellarmino* thou lyest, neither shewing sense or reason, but his say so. But it may be said, thank a good cause: yet may the best cause be spoiled by an evil manning, and the most bright and shining truths be obscured in a dark *Lanthorn*,

yea let them be whiter than *snow*, they may be sullied by dirty fingers, and more transparent than *glass*, yet may be cracked when clumisie fists shall come to handle them. This the *Jesuites* know, which hath been the cause of this strange attempt, for it is most plain by the *poyson* now vomited, that some of those *Serpents* are wriggled in amongst us; they have tryed our weapons, and to their smart know the sharpness of them, no marvel then they endeavour to disarm us; *Learning* hath kept them out, no wonder then they attempt to introduce *ignorance* the *Mother*, which could they effect, they are assured *Popish Devotion* the *Daughter* would not be long kept out.

Nci-

Neither can this seem strange unto us, if we but consider their practice in the *Lutheran Church*, where it hath been usual with the *Jesuites* to seem to become *Proselites*, to heighten and continue the *division* between them and the *Calvinists*; or what a late Author of our own, who seems not to be unacquainted of their practices, writes of them, *The Jesuit reckons it in the number of his merits, if he may by any sinister wayes ruffle and disorder Heretical Kingdomes (so he calls them) encourage weak and unstable minds, to slight Magistracy, irritate divisions, tumults, rebellions, absolve from oaths, and all sacred ties; so that its hard to find any tragical scene, or bloody theatre, into which the Jesuite hath not intru.*

intruded, and been as busie as Davus in the Comedy, contributing in a very high measure to every fanatick insolence, justifying the old lemma of Loyola's picture, Cavete vobis principes: these are the firebrands of Europe, the forge, and bellows of Sedition, infernal Emissaries, the pests of the age, men that live as if huge sins would merit heaven by an antipe-ristasis. Concutiunt populos, vexant regna, sollicitant bella, diruunt Ecclesias.

And it is for certain written from beyond the Seas, that the English Colleges are emptyed, and all those Emissaries sent abroad, whither, unless amongst us?

CHAP. XV.

An answer to some objections against learning, in a book entitled, The Saints Guide.

AND the same Author goes on, *Nor is any nation without some turbulent spirits of its own, the dishonour of the gown, and pulpit, the shame, and sometimes ruin of their Countrey; one of which hath late started this question, Whether or not all that much magnified natural reason (which we think dignifieth us above, and distinguisheth us from Brutes) and all that humane learning (which we conceive exalts and rectifieth reason) be the fruit of the*

the forbidden tree, and is a spurious and adventitious faculty, which man wanted in his innocency, and was instilled into him by Satan in the fall?

A quæry Satan himself might blush to put, and yet the Book stuffed with this and the like doctrine, is cloathed with the specious title of the *Saints Guide*; the *Wolf* adorns himself with the *Lambs* skinne, the *Fiend* transforms himself into an *Angel* of light: it is not amisse to mark the phrase he reproaches learning in, then how he coucheth his doctrine, lastly his *Divinity* in these words, *which man wanted in his innocency*. Indeed the old *Serpent* told *Eve* that the fruit of the forbidden tree would encrease their *Knowledge*, but
except

except him, and this *Disciple* of his, I never found any affirming that man wanted any thing in his *Innocency*: but ſuppoſe this diabolical doctrine true, if man wanted *Learning* before, he much more wāts it ſince the fall; the Author of ſuch ſtuff may well cry out againſt *reaſon* and *Learning*.

But to the queſtion, That *Reaſon* was depraved and darkened by the *fall*, we allow, and that by the help of *learning* it is in ſome meaſure reſtored, we affirm, and ſo conſequently that there had been no need of acquired *learning* had man ſtood, no more would there of *repentance*: but doth it follow therefore, that now vve are fallen, vve ſhould not labour for *repentance*?

Let

Let this fellow go and try whether he can persuade a man that is fallen into a pit not to endeavour to get out, because getting out is a fruit, and effect of his falling in. Truly such jarguing is instilled by *Satan*, and such *Sophistry* is a bastardly faculty which *ingenuity*, much more *innocency*, is so far from wanting, that it abhors and detests it. The *Fellow* seems to be a Scholar, I shall ask him therefore one question. Is not reason the specifical difference of a *man* from a *Beast*? and was *man* distinguished from a *Beast* by the *fall*, or the *Creation*? Did the *Devil* or *God* make him a rational creature? Behold then the horrid *blasphemy* couched in this query, which would insinuate the

the rational soul to be the product of the Devil; if this be not a doctrine of Devils I know not what is.

Then for his Parenthesis, (*which we think dignifieth us above, and distinguisheth us from Brutes*) if Reason doth not, what doth? *Shape* cannot, for so one Beast differs from another: neither is it *Grace*, for then all but Beasts must have *Grace*: And for his other (*which we conceive exalts, and rectifies reason*) hath not learning exalted and rectified his reason so far as to enable him from such and such Premises to draw such a and such a Conclusion, to frame his Syllogisms, to write and utter these words, positions, consequences, queries, responses, cognition,

cognition, which his *illiterate* auditors and readers understand no more, than they do him and his drifts? what but *learning* hath set his understanding above theirs, and enabled him to talk at a rate his *ignorant* followers onely can *admire*? Behold then you misled *wretches* what a *Guide* you have got, who when all his *Sophistry*, and abuse of his own *reason* and *learning*, all his *Logick* and *Syllogisms* are unable to overthrow *reason* and *learning*, goes about by his *queries* to undermine them; who, when all his *impudency* dares not affirm, and all his ability cannot prove, endeavors by way off doubt to instill his *poison*, upon hopes that you will swallow & take for granted whatever drops

drops from him : what is it you admire in this *Fellow*, is it his railing against *learning* in others ? doth he not make use of it himself ? he disputes *Syllogistically*, he is frequent in *division*, abounds in subtile and sophistical *distinctions*, talks hard words, rattles out *Latine*, nay there is not one *Arrow* in his quiver but is feathered with feathers plucked from *learnings* wing, nor is he able to speak or write, or you to read or understand one syllable, word or sentence against *Learning*, but by its assistance. Could you have read, could you have wrote, could you have understood one word had you not been taught ? why these are degrees of *learning* ; awake and behold the cheat, which would make

make you enemies even to that *image of God* which is imprinted on you, level you with *Brutes* nay make you such: you see it is reason that distinguisheth a *man* from a *Beast*, it is learning that improves *reason*, be not afraid of being *rational*; this *Caytiff* would deprive you of your *humanity*, that he might the easier destroy your *Christianity*; rob you of your *reason*, to bob you of your *religion*: For if he be not a very *Jesuite*, yet is he the likest one that ever I met with; if the tree may be judged by the fruits, his acts will aloud proclaim him a notorious juggler: and first behold how he cheats you in stating the *question*, for it is not whether by the help of humane learning a
man

man may attain a saving knowledge to himself, whether he can save his own *soul*; but whether he may not attain to such a knowledge as may enable him to hold out the way of *salvation* unto others: and that a man may do this, not only too too frequent *examples* do make out, but the Apostle himself tells us in the 1 Cor. 9. 27. *But I keep under my body, and keep it in subjection; lest that by any means, when I have preached unto others, I myself should be a cast away; a man may preach to others, and yet be himself a cast away: for this wretch dares not affirm that the Apostle inspired by the spirit of God would suppose an impossibility: and the example of Indas clearly shewes that a man may*

may have an outward call to teach, and yet be a reprobate; was not he one of the twelve that was sent to preach the Kingdome of God, and to heal the sick? Luk. 9. 1, 2. also the Apostle in the 2 Tim. 3. 5. speaks of some, having a form of Godliness, creeping into houses, leading captive silly women laden with infirmities: These Hypocrites by the help of learning and parts could pray as devoutly, talk as holily, wrest the Scriptures as dexterously, cogging the dy, making the word speak what they list, craftily applying it, having all the arts and methodes of *consenage*, even as he himself; yet were they not taught of God; it is cleer therefore that learning and parts per se *ex propria natura* can understand and

and so apprehend the mystery of the *Gospel*, as to hold it out so to others, that the hearers cannot discern by the teaching an *Hypocrite* from a true Believer, notwithstanding all his *Positions*. You may behold also how finely the holy text is wrested by him to no purpose in his following Arguments, for unless he prove that a man by the help of *learning* cannot attain to such a *Knowledge* as to be able to make an outward profession, he proves nothing.

And that this *Sophistry* is malicious, not ignorant, his answering two objections will fully clear.

Object. 1. That though *humane learning* be an enemy to the law of God while it is in an *unsanctified*

ctified heart, yet when the heart is truly turned to God, then it becomes a sanctified instrument, and a good handmaid to Theology.

Solution. To this he answers, That though the heart be truly sanctified, in which humane learning doth inhere as in its subject, yet doth it not follow that learning it self is, no more than sin can be said to be sanctified, though the heart of a sinful man may be truly said to be sanctified: for acquired learning of it self, and of its own nature, is nothing else but sin, and therefore remains so still, and cannot be truly nor properly said to be sanctified, no more than sin. But if by being sanctified, they mean that the providential wisdom of God doth order it,

it, or make uſe of it for the good of his people, I oppoſe it not, ſo that it be underſtood, that that good flowes not from the nature of acquired knowledge it ſelf, but from the wiſdome and goodneſs of the ſpirit of God, who maketh all things work together for the benefit of thoſe that love him, who are called according to his purpoſe, and ſo no more can properly in this reſpect be predicated of it than of ſin it ſelf, which in that caſe (though not as an entity, for non entia ad modum entium concipiuntur) is ſaid alſo to work for the good of Gods Saints.

Fiſt to this we ſay, that the habit of ſin is deſtroyed, there is a mortification of ſin, as well as a vivification of grace, as Rom. 6. 2. How ſhall we that are dead to

G

ſin,

sin, live any longer therein? and Ephes. 2. 1. Thou hath he quickned who were dead in trespasses and sins. Now the habit of learning is not in the least diminished, much less destroyed.

Secondly, That the whole man with all his endowments is sanctified, as 1 Thes. 5. 23, 24. *And the very God of peace sanctify you wholly, and I pray God your whole spirit, and soul, and body, be preserved blameless unto the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ. Faithful is he that calleth you, who also will do it. Now then, either learning must be sanctified, or something remains un sanctified.*

Thirdly, That acquired learning, of it self, and of its own nature is not sin, for sin is a transgression

transgreſſion of the Law, 1 John 3.4. verſe, For ſin is the transgreſſion of the Law, ἁμαρτία ἐστὶν ἀνομία. Now what Law forbiddeth learning? where is it written Thou ſhalt not be learned? and ſure were learning either in it ſelf ſin, or leſt unſanctified in a ſanctified heart, we ſhould not find the Apoſtle Paul giving thanks for it in 1 Cor. 14. 18. I thank my God I ſpeak with tongues more than you all: and the holy Ghoſt deſcribing Apollos leaves him upon record to be an eloquent man ἄνθρωπος λόγιος, the word uſually is taken for a learned man; and ſee what followes, He helped them much which believed, for he mightily convinced the Iewes, αὐτότως, which the learned Beza in his Annotations ren-

ders, *Magna cum contentione*, and he gives the reason of it, *Uti volui hac perphrasi ut Græci vocabuli emphasin servarem, quo significatur eloquentem hunc hominem omnes (quod aiunt) nervos revincendis Indæis contendisse*, I have used this periphrasis, that I might preserve the emphasis of the Greek word, by which is signified that this eloquent man employed the utmost of his abilities to convince the Jews. Behold then what *Divinity* your *Doctor* teaches, who is not onely content to bely *learning*, but *sanctification*, making the *holy Spirit* work by halves; and as he plaies the *Knave* here, so in the latter part he plaies the *Fool*, fighting with his own *shadow*, and keeping a coil about nothing

thing, for the very objection, as he himſelf hath put it, aſſerts the good to flow from the *ſanctification of learning*, not from its own *nature*, it makes it a hand-maid, and ſo does he; untill he comes to his Concluſion, which how true it is, as it ſufficiently appears by what is ſaid, yet will be more manifeſt if we conſider *learning* in it ſelf to be *indifferent* either *good* or *evil*, according as it is uſed or abuſed, now is *ſin* ſo? Suppose a man ſhall make the *glory of God* his onely end in his attaining *learning*, that thereby he may be better enabled to read, converſe, diſpute, and ſpeak concerning the *mysteries of Salvation* (for could he have written or ſpoken as he doth without it, unleſs by help of
of

of a miracle?) will he affirm this learning to be sin? is the *Physical* act sinful, or doth the *moral circumstance* cloath it with good or evil? Something more then may be predicated of learning than of *sinne*, which cannot be conceived in any other notion than of *sin*.

Object. 2. *Again, if it be objected, that though learning be not effectual to the understanding of the mystery of the Gospel, yet it is prealent to the compleating of the literal and historical knowledge thereof: Take this here, that these objections are of his own cloathing, the terms are his own.*

Solution. To this he answers. *Though it may conduce to the gaining of literal, and histori-*

call

call knowledge, yet this is not ad idem, becauſe it profiteth nothing; For truth it ſelf bears record, It is the Spirit that quickneth, the fleſh profiteth nothing; and men are made able Miniſters of the New Teſtament, not of the Letter, but of the Spirit; For the letter killeth, but the Spirit giveth life. So that all literal and hiſtorical knowledge gained by mans power, is but like the principle from whence it flowed, fleſhly, earthly, deadly, and deſtructive.

To this we ſay, that what he ſaith here againſt learning, may as well be ſaid againſt reading, teaching, and hearing, there muſt be fit and outward Organs, there muſt be eyes, a tongue, and eares, and theſe muſt have a body to ſubſiſt; is all reading, hearing,

and *teaching* therefore like the principle from whence they flow, *fleshly, earthly, deadly, and destructive?* Behold then whether these Scriptures are wrested or no? do you think they are to be understood to condemn all outward means, or onely to shew that *outward means* without the inward *assistance* and *operation* of the Spirit cooperating with them were unable to beget saving grace in a soul? do you conceive the Spirit of God in them disallowes all *reading, teaching, hearing*, or only forbid to put such a confidence in them as to esteem them able in themselves to confer *eternal life* upon us? Besides, i that place in the *Corinths*, the letter signifies the *Law*, of which *Moses* was a

M-

Minister, the Spirit the Gospel, which *Christ* brought and delivered to his *Apostles* and *Ministers*; for look but into the chapter and you shall see the scope of the *Apostle* is to advance the *Ministry* of the Gospel above the *Ministry* of the Law: was not this rightly applied then against learning? can you imagine he himself can think them to mean what he puts upon them? but I leave him, and so I hope will you; yet I could wish some able pen would take him task, and ~~make~~ the Impostor.

CHAP. XVI.

*The abuse of Learning no argument
against the use of it.*

But as this fellow cries down,
So are there others which
too much cry up *learning*, who
will entail the *use* of *teaching*
upon it, and allow none to teach
but an *University Graduate*;
which is no other than put
bounds to *God*, to limit the ho-
ly *Spirit*, hither and no farther
shalt thou go; but because these
men idolize it, must we exe-
crate and abhor it? because the
Persians adored the *Sun*, must
we *Christians* refuse the *comfort*
of its *light* and *heat*? in thus do-
ing

ing we run as far out of the way on the one hand, as they do on the other.

Let them consider how many under the light of the *Gospel* furnish'd with the helps of humane learning are strangely unacquainted with the knowledg of Christ crucified; a plain experienced Christian (notwithstanding their Auxiliary forces) only by the help of a Bible, will put a whole Army to flight; *Surgunt indocti et rapiunt cælum*, when they in the mean time do but, as he speaks, *ornare Diabolum*; they become learned spoiles, *Sapienter descendunt in infernum*, they go cunningly to Hell. And then on the other side let not us be so silly and malicious as to put the fault in learning, whereas there

there is no greater *vicinity* than between *truth* and *goodness*; *heaven* is full of *knowledge*, as it is of *holiness*; and it is brimfull of both: if some will not make a right use, or will abuse their learning, must *learning* suffer? can there be a more gross abuse than, as, *Isocrates* speaks, τὴν τῶν ἀνθρώπων πονηρίαν ἐπὶ τὰ πράγματα μεταφέρειν. ; to lay the blame on the thing, not the man? some men with weapons commit *murders* and *outrages*, shall not others therefore have any for their own necessary and just defence? some make themselves *drunk*, may not others therefore *drink* to maintain life, and to comfort and chear the heart? *Noah* was drunk with *wine*, shall not *Timothy* therefore drink

drink a little for his *Stomachs* sake, and his often infirmities? *1 Tim. 5. 23.* a subtil Jesuiticall *Knave wrests Scripture*, may not a *Minister of the Gospel* therefore quote it? The first abuses his *learning* to pervert, and destroy, shall not the second make use of his to instruct, and edifie? Upon this account all things might be condemned, even *profession* it self, and all religious duties, which have been by some abused, and prophaned.

CHAP.

CHAP. XVII.

The Mischief of Ignorance.

THese things thus weighed, will not the *improvement* of *nature* beautified & adorned with supernatural *grace* make men more serviceable, and instrumental for *Gods* glory? when the strength of *learning*, and the power of *Godliness* unite and concentrate their forces, will they not make up the finest and purest *complexion*, the soundest and bravest *constitution*, like a sparkling and vigorous *soul*, quickning and informing a beautiful body? can Religion desire to shine with greater gloss and

and lustre, can it desire to ride among men in greater pomp and solemnity, in a more triumphant Charriot than in a *soul* of vast intellectualls? let us but consider our poor ignorant and unlearned *Ancestors*, with yellings, and howlings, with the horrid noise of brazen and copper pans and bazons hammered on and beaten, endeavouring to help the *Moon* in the eclipse, whom they thought they did great service to; and whence proceeded this but from ignorance of the natural cause? what prayers, what sacrifices did an eclipse of the *Sun* produce? all presently supposing he hid his face for anger, as the Poets report he did at *Atreus* his banquet, — *Verterit cursus tunc tibi*

ipse Titan, obvium ducens iter, tenebrisque facinus obruit tetrum novis, nox missa ab ortu tempore alieno gravis. Seneca, Thyestes, and they in danger of an eternal night, and not only be, as one speaks notably of the *Suns* adorers, ἀθεοὶ κατὰ νύκτας, without their God by night, but for ever: and indeed what advantage did the Devil make of ignorance in the time of Popery? What a quarter did he keep with his Hobgoblins, and Fairies? O, darkness is his delight in the understanding as well as in the air, and doth it not lay men more open to his temptations? what a triumph would the Prince of darkness lead could he get us all into his livery? This *Plutarch* an heathen could perceive,

Knowledge

Knowledge, saith he, frees men from that superstition, which frights, disturbs, and entangles with sinister conceits of the Deity, others, who are ignorant of the natural causes of things, and in its place induces a secure piety, and holy confidence in the Divine power; and he instances in the head of a *Ram* with one horn growing in the midst of the front brought to *Pericles*, which when the Southsayers converted to an *Omen*, *Anaxagoras* the Philosopher dissecting the skull shewed it empty on the sides, and the brains lying in the midst in an oval form just where the horn took root, clearly convincing them of the natural cause.

Let

Let us consider how a poor Bishop was degraded by a whole Council, and the Popes infallible Worship too boot, for writing and maintaining that there were *Antipodes*, people inhabiting the other side of the *Worldly Globe*, a thing known to every ship-boy in *Wapping*: and what will nothing serve our turns but a herd of such Teachers? a drove of such Doctors that may bring us in one age to a degree above bleating to be as far from understanding, as they from being able to speak sense? when a *Dutch Sophister* with this doughty fallacy, *The Scripture commands us to reverence and obey our Elders, but the Dutch State is the elder State, therefore the Scripture commands*
the

the English State to reverence and obey the Dutch; Or, Asses have eares, Englishmen have eares, therefore Englishmen are Asses, shall puzzle our whole nation, and none be able to answer him, unless by down-right telling him he lyes, & so instead of confuting, confirm him in his wild assertions.

Lastly, Let us consider with what impatience we would hear a man that went about to perswade us to burn our ships, break our Guns, destroy all our Arms and Weapons, and lay our selves naked to the invasion and rapine of any forein enemy; and shall we not with the same disdain and abhorrency behold these pedling Truckers under Satan, who would disarm our souls,

souls, prostitute our understandings to the lust of every subtile *sophister*, make us like to the Horse and Mule which want understanding, ready to take the Bit into our mouths to be rid by each deceiver, and to crouch down under the burdens which every sly and cunning Knave shall please to load us with? do we so much detest the slavery of our bodies, and shall we not abhor to see our souls led captive, our understandings drawn in shackles after the triumphant Chariot of every *Impostor*? our Lord and Savior teaches us, that though a man both strong and armed keep the house, yet if a stronger than he come, he will enter and take possession; these Imps of the Destroyer suggest,
that

that the *Lame* and *Blind* are only fit *Garrison* *Souldiers* for the strong holds of the *New Jerusalem*, as if *Religion* were the *Capitol* that onely *Geese* must defend; alas, had there not been a *Manlius* and other valiant and armed *Romans*, the *Gauls* could not have been kept out by their cackling. Thus much for learning, as it is useful in religion, what advantage it is of to the *Civil State* shall be discoursed of hereafter in its proper place.

CHAP.

CHAP. XVIII.

Of Moral vertue in general.

BEfore we proceed further, it will not be amiss to consider *Moral vertue* in the general, as of good conducement to our better understanding of the *particular vertues* which follow in order to be treated of in our subsequent discourse, and to our easier attaining and imbracing them in our future practice.

And first of the *Name*; the *Greeks* according to some denominated it *Ἀρετὴ ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀρεως*, from *Mars* their *God of War*, because in *War* the efficacy of *vertue* seemed most perspicuous. Others

thers fetch its derivation *ἀπὸ τοῦ αἰσθεῖναι*, from choos^{ing}, because vertue is above all things to be chosen. The *Latines* called it *virtus* a *vir* which antiently was solie applyed to a *valiant man*; thus *Cicero in offic. Nomen virtutis, inquit, antiquitus solius fuit fortitudinis*, Vertue, saith he, was the badge heretofore onely of *Fortitude*. But since experience teaching that man was not only to strive with man, to combate the Common enemy, but also with his own disorderly *affections* easily misled by the *allurements* of riches, delights, and preferment, it became the *triumphant Ornament* of those that were victorious over themselves and these *temptations*, which indeed is the more noble conquest

quest, and most manly, as performed by the force of *reason*, the weapon only man can use. Lastly there are some, who not unpleasantly alluding will have it tearmed *virtus, quasi viri artus*, as it were the joints and lineaments of the *mind*.

Now, as the *name* hath been diversly derived, so hath the *Thing* been variously applyed.

As first, to signify in general the *power* and *perfection* of any thing, hence we often meet with these and the like phrases in *English*, By *vertue* of Gods *power*, *wisdome*, *omniscience*; by *vertue* of the *Soul*, of the *Heavens*, of the *Elements*, of such or such a *plant*, *mineral*, or living *creature*.

Secondly, to denote *promiscuously*

cuously all *habits* as well *infused* as *acquired*, thus we say by *vertue of Grace, faith, &c.*

Thirdly, it is taken for a *natural inclination or disposition*: thus *Aristotle* in 6. *Ethic. cap. ult.* we possess *vertue by nature*, and by *nature* we are *temperate* and *valiant*. Lastly, it is most properly taken for an *habit of the mind*, acquired by use and frequent exercise, and thus we are to accept it as an *habit ruling the will and appetite of man*, and *conforming and composing his manners for the help and ornament of humane society*.

And now having viewed it in the gross, let us a little descend to take it in pieces, whereby the true nature of it will be more plainly understood. The

146 *The Modern*

ness is an *habit*, and we prove its lineage by its *Coat Armour*. *Plutarch de virtut. moral.* τρία ταῦτα περὶ τὴν ψυχὴν ὑπαρχει, δύναμις, πάθος καὶ ἔξις, ἡ μὲν δύναμις ἀρχὴ καὶ ὕλη τῶ παθὸς τὸ δὲ πάθος κίνησις τῆς δυνάμεως ἡ δὲ ἔξις ἰσχύς καὶ κατασκευὴ ἔξ ἔθους ἐγξινομένη. There are, saith he, three things in the mind, the *faculty*, the *affection*, and the *habit*; the *faculty* is the principle and matter of the *affection*; the *affection* is a certain motion of the *faculty*: but the *habit* is the strength and conformity of the *faculty*, gotten by *custom*. Now vertue being to be reduced under one of these heads, we must examine to which it doth conform it self. By vertue men are accounted *good*, as by *vice bad*; but by the

faculties which are natural and bear themselves in an indifferent posture to this or that; and by the affections by which we are only moved, and become not, neither are accounted such or such, we can neither be termed good or bad; it remains then that the habit gives the denomination, and that vertue is an habit, and so *Aristotle l. 2. ethic. cap. 6.* defines it to be *ἐξ ἑκείνης τῆς πρώτης ἐν μέσῳ τῇ ἐστὶ τῇ πρὸς ἡμᾶς, ὡρισμένῳ λόγῳ, καὶ ὃ ἀνὸς φρόνιμος ὀρίσειε.*

The difference must be fetched from the *matter* and *form*; now the *matter* is the *subject* and *object*, for no other matter can be attributed to *Accidents*; the *subject* is the *will* and *appetite*, the *internal object*, are the

affections, and *actions* springing from those *affections*; the *external objects* are the persons toward which, and the *things* in which *virtue* is exercised. The *form* is a *Mediocrity* or mean to be observed in all our *affections* and *actions* which *excess* renders violent, *defect* lame and imperfect.

Now *virtue* consists in *indivisi-
bili medio*, in an individual
mediocrity; τὸ μὲν γὰρ καλὸς εἶναι, μονο-
ταχὺς ἐστὶ, τὸ δὲ ἀμαρτάνειν, πολλαχῶς.
for there is but one path leads
to *virtue*, but to *vice* many. τὸ
μὲν ἀγαθὸν μονοειδές, τὸ δὲ κακὸν πολυ-
ειδές. For *Good* is single, *evil*
of many shapes; yet is this *in-
divisibility* not to be taken in a
Mathematical, but a *Moral* con-
struction, which admits of
some

some *Latitude*, for its the prudent admonition of some eminent *Moralists*, *Parum deflectere à medio in excedendo, vel deficiendo, non est vitium semper existimandum; cum medii quedam sit latitudo, intra quam se continentes bene agunt*, a small declining from the mean either on the right or left is not alwaies to be accounted vice, sith there is a certain latitude in mediocritie, within the limits of which, men containing themselves act well. Thus a valiant man by the smart and sight of his wounds may be transported with anger and thirst of revenge, yet it being in the lawfull and just defence of himself and Countrey, a resolute and eager charge will be

no excess from true fortitude ,
and for the other extreme we
have a noble example in the
Roman Consul Caiulus , who when
he could not perswade the
greatest part of his Army to a-
bide in their Camp , being terri-
fied with the approach of the
Cimbrians , commanded the
Eagle , the *Roman Standart* , to be
advanced , and marcht away
himself in the head of them ,
that they might appear rather
to follow than desert their Ge-
neral. Here he forsook his
Camp , and those resolute Soul-
diers that staid to defend it , for
fear lest the body of his Army
who would go should be utter-
ly disheartned , and being pub-
lickly branded with deserting
the *Consul* , might set light by
their

their fame already blasted, and so the *Commonwealth* then threatned might be greatly endangered by the loss of such an *Army*, which would either have disbanded, or fought untowardly.

And to come closer, vertue is not ἀπάθεια ἢ ἡρεμία, an absolute calm without the least perturbation, but συμμετρία, a *Symmetry* of the *affections* regulated by measure, squared by the golden rule of *Mediocrity*.

And as there is a *latitude* to be considered, so is the *proportion* which is *Geometrical*, not *Arithmetical*; it is *medium rationis*, *non rei*: for vertue doth not equally differ from its extremes, as fix doth from two and ten, as for example, *Libera-*

lity comes nearer to prodigality than covetousness.

Yet the attaining this mediocrity being a thing of the greatest difficulty, for as it is easie to be angry, so is it hard to be angry with these necessary circumstances, with whom, how far, when, wherefore, and in what manner we ought, it will much avail us to take these helps, laid down by ail or the most experienced *Moralists*.

First, let us endeavour to shun that extreme which seems most contrary to vertue; yet here must be care taken lest by endeavouring to avoid one we run into the other extremity, according to that,

Dum vitant stulti vitia in contraria currunt.

And

And, *Incidit in Scyllam cupiens vitare Charybdim.*

Thus as the Nymph *Calypso* instructs *Ulysses* being to sail between *Scylla* and *Charybdis*, two dangerous rocks in the *Sicilian* Sea, rather to avoid *Charybdis* as the more dangerous, but yet still to have an eye to *Scylla*: *Homer 12. Odyss.* So we must avoid that extreme which is most opposit to *vertue* as more destructive, yet with care of the other too: *Superstition* is liker *Piety* than *Atheism*, we had better therefore be a little too tender, than to make no scruple, a little too formal, than openly *prophane*, here the excess is less contrary; but here again the defect, for *abstemiousness* altogether to forbear *wine* is more

like *Temperance* then *drunkenness*, and this our *Reason* will instruct us to judge of. Yet the *Prudent* perswade for the most part to avoid the *excess*, as of more difficulty to be shaken off: and indeed it would be more facile to bring an *abstemious* person to a moderate use of *Wine* for his health sake, than to dissuade a *drunkard* from his *tipple* though his health, nay life lay at stake; and of this opinion is *Cicero* in 1. de *Orat.* *Suus cuique modus est, inquit, tamen magis offendit nimium, quam parum.* There is a measure to be had in every thing, saith he, yet excess is the greater offender of the two: and where we find one voluntarily starving himself, we shall meet with thousands destroyed by

by sursetting.

Secondly, Let us strive to avoid that *extreme* which we are most enclined to by our natural *Temper*; as if we are covetously enclind, let us endeavour rather to be a little too profuse, and so by degrees we may become *liberal*. Πολὺ γὰρ ἀπαγόντες τὸ ἀμαρτάνειν, εἰς τὸ μέσον ἵξομεν.

This *Aristotle* illustrates by an apt *simile* of streightning a stick: for he that will make a stick streight must do it by bending it to the contrary side.

Thirdly, we must in every action be very suspicious of that which seems to entice with the alluring bait of pleasure, and this *Aristotle* confirms by an argument drawn from the pernicious.

cious effect of pleasure. And thus Cicero in Catone. *Impedit consilium voluptas rationi inimica et mentis oculos perstringit.* Pleasure, saith he, that foe to reason, lays a bar in judgements way, and dazzles the eye of the understanding: And again in 2. lib. *offic. Voluptates blandissima domine sæpe majores partes animæ à virtute detorquent;* Those flattering Mistresses, Pleasures, do often enveagle and draw the nobler parts of the soul from the practise of vertue, and Seneca in Epist. 28. *Quis Hostis in quemquam ita contumeliosus fuit, quam in quosdam voluptates suæ?* No professed enemy hath been so injurious and spitefull, hath wrought a man so much disgrace, as their own pleasures,
their

their bosom delights have done too many, one *Dalilah* hath been more powerful to captivate a *Sampson*, than all the Lords, than all the thousands among the *Philistines*.

And as a help we shall adde this, That proposing the most sublime, and heroical Patterns of *virtue* for our imitation, we shall the less square our actions by the crooked and deceitful rule of *Pleasure*.

He that shall make *Cicero* his example shall never become a *Cataline*: nor shall the admirer of a studious and contemplative *Athenian*, of a couragious and active *Lacedemonian*, incur the infamy and effeminacie of a delicate *Sybarite*, or a dissolued *Persian*: thus when the glo-
ry

ry of *Miltiades* once disturbed the sleep of *Themistocles*, when his victory at *Marathon* had made a conquest also over the others debauchery at *Athens*; you see how soon he broke those silken cords of pleasure, wherein he was noos'd, and the sense of *honour* having set an edge upon his affections, he soon cut that *Gordion* knot, whereby he became first victorious over himself, and after over *Asia*; I mean the numerous *Persian* with the strength of *Asia* then invading *Greece*, and of a dissolute young man, became the most famous *Captain* in his time *Greece* could boast of; of such efficacy is a noble example. Whereas on the contrary, as *Cicero* in *Laelio*, *Nihil altum, nihil magnificum*.

ficum, nihil divinum suscipere possunt, qui suas cogitationes abjecerunt in rem humilem et abjectam.

The latter phrase is very emphatical; he that trifles away his thoughts in a low, and abject contemplation, shall never come to be fit for any high, any noble, any heroick undertaking. Thus the muckworm that pores upon the ground continually will never arrive to the liberal science of *Astronomy*; and we cannot but suppose that he shall shoot neerer Heaven who takes his aim at a star, than he that levels at a Gloworm.

The efficient cause of vertue is *custome*; which is the genuine Parent of an habit; thus when we see a man wallow in vice, we
say

say he is habituated to it, yet have there been some who have endeavoured to alter this *Pedegree*, and to engraft this excellent *Cien* on another stock.

Gallen a Physician, would bring it under his cure, and place it within the verge of his art, and could he do it, it would be no small addition to his calling, both in respect of honour, and profit; which would abound in admirers, and never want patients: how necessary would the *Physician* be to the *Body Politick* as well as natural, could he rectify and purge the manners, as well as the humours, and not only help men to live, but to live well? O the sacred power of that *Physick*, which could purge out.

out *vice*, and be a cordiall to
vertue! thou hast a fragrancy
beyond the ointment of the *A-*
pothecary; whose shop alas can-
not be the *cradle* of *vertue*, nei-
ther can all his compounds
compose the affections, all his
distillations instill vertue, all
his *essences* and *spirits* quicken
that noble heat in the soul, it is
beyond the power of *Chymistry*
to extract this habit, or to re-
solve corrupted nature into its
first principle of purity. Shew
me that *Doctor* that can by
his *Physick* make the *cholerike*
man *meek*, the *Coward*, *valiant*,
or the *corrupt*, *Just*; and let
him enjoy the deity of *Æscula-*
pius, and his ruined *Skrines* be
repaired for his service. I confess
they can make the *Miser* open
his

his fist, and scatter his *Angells*, when he is terrifyed with the dreadful apparition of death. This wretch, contrary to all others, who hold fastest when in danger of drowning, unclutching his gripe when he is sinking into the grave, and parting with his *Mammon*, his beloved Deity so long adored by him, when the *Devil* appears ready to ceize him. But this is but like the *Cowards* winking and laying about him when there is no remedy but fight or dy, like *Dametas* in the noble and ingenuous *Sydney*, who when the Sea would let him run no further, turnd, & had the hap to have his adversary cry quarter first; and the one is as far from being *liberal*, as the other *valiant*. Thus

Thus it seems, making for his profession, *Gallen* attempts to cry up his own *Diana*, and on *Nature* beget a Sire for *ver-tue*; for he will have it spring from a *Temperament* of the *Body*; but though this may encline, yet doth it not necessarily draw men to vertue.

1. For we often see *manners* changed, the *temperament* remaining the same, as in the example of *Themistocles*; and the *temper* changed, the *manners* continuing, for in the life of *Marius* we read, that though he was both old, gross, and corpulent, yet did he daily in publick exercise himself in arms among the young men, endeavoring to make his body active and nimble whether *nature* would

would or no : yea so fiery and young was his *ambition* that the chill froast of age which had made his head hoary could not nip it, and such a thirst after honour burned within him, that six *Consulships* adorn'd with the most splendid *triumphs* could not quench it, but his aspiring *soul* would have drawn his unweldie *body* craz'd with age, and loaden with *honour*, after it into *Pontus*, whether he eagerly sought to be sent Commander in chief against *Mitbridates*; yea upon his death bed when he was *light headed*, fancying he was warring against *Mithridates*, he would often use such postures, and motions of the body, as became a *General*, backed with a loud, and milita-

military clamour: Alas poor man! as if one sprig of *Laurel* could have given thee content, which in a whole *Grove* thou couldst not find, though springing from thine own conquests.

2. Again the temper is not in our power, *manners* are, for if they were not, to what purpose would deliberation, counsel, exhortation, praise, reproof, laws, rewards, punishments be? it is evident then that the *Temperament* is not the proximate and chief cause of *vertue*.

Secondly, And as *Gallen*, so the *Stoicks* make *Nature* the cause of *vertue*, which they hold born with man, but *vice* contrary to *Nature* and acquired by evil

evil custom. So that they themselves will have *custome* the cause of the acquired *habit* of *vice*, which grants our *Tenant*, for having proved *vertue* to be a *habit* acquired, not an innate *faculty*, it must be the product of *custome*. Besides, whatever is *natural* is *immoveable*, but *manners* are mutable, as in the before recited example of *Themistocles*, and how often have our eyes seen young men of very promising beginnings debauched by evil company, to fall from that bright *Orb of vertue*, in which had they been placed by nature they would have been fixed *stars*?

Thirdly, Some there are that ascribe *vertues* original to *education*, and *breeding*, and indeed

deed this is very much condu-
cing to beget the first acts of
vertue, and to put youth in
the right road to come to it, but
it is not of force to creat the *ha-*
bit: for how many do we be-
hold excellently initiated in
this sacred *mystery* by a good
Tutorage, which when they
come to have the reigns layd in
their necks, gallop down hill,
and break the neck of all those
goodly expectations? for
the best instilled precepts
though they may sometimes
check, yet are they not of
force to stop the career of the
headstrong affections, and ma-
ny are there, who can give good
counsel to others, which they
cannot or will not follow them-
selves. But let me not be mis-
understood

understood, for though we do not allow *education* to be the *proximate* and *adequate*, yet shall we not deny it to be a *remote cause*, which by entering men in vertues path, which gon on in will bring to the habit, may be said to lay the foundation to this glorious *Fabrick*. And thus though we cannot in *justice* conferre the *Crown* as to have reached the *Goal*, yet let it carry the *prize* for the first *Start*; though we must deny it the *triumph* due to an absolute victory, yet shall we put the *mu-rall Crown* on its head, for having first mounted the *Wall*, and first erected *vertues Ensign* upon the *Battlements*. Let it then not be neglected, but of all receive its due esteem, as the most excellent

excellent *Trayner* up of youth,
the most noble *File-leader*, who
well followed conducts to vi-
ctory, that happy *victory* which
will render us *invincible*, place
us above the reach of any *enemy*,
carry us out of *Fortunes* gun-shot.

Now the rest enjoying what
is their own, let us give Custom
its due, which is to be the effi-
cient cause of vertue, enabling
men by an often repetition of
such or such a vertuous acti-
on, to a ready and unperturb-
ed performing it upon occasion;
for to descend a little in a simile,
how come your Artificers to be-
come excellent, unless by often
practice, or your Souldier to be
expert, but by exercise? and it
is a maxim amongst military
men, that a man never so well

I versed

versed in *speculation*, who hath all the *arts* and *stratagems* of the most renowned *Captains* at his fingers ends, yet at the first *skirmish* will be to seek; and can we think the repugnancies within are less disturbing than *enemies* without, and require not a *mind* as well experienced to resist and quell them? To sum up all the *Etymon* of the word *ἠθικη Moral*, ἀπὸ τῆς ἔθους, derived from the word which signifieth *custome*, may confirm us that it hath its original from the thing from whose name it derives its denomination. For it would be no more a *Solæcism* in speech to call the Son of *Van Trump* an English man, than that *moral* or *customary vertue*, which is sprung from the loins of *Tempe-*

rament, Nature or Education.

But now to prescribe a set number, to tell how many acts go to the making up an habit, is impossible; for 1. fewer or more are requisite, accordingly as the mind is less or more enclin'd to *vertue*. 2. Some acts are more powerful, others less valid. 3. Attention makes large amends for number, whose worth, by way of exchange, may view with hundreds, and, when put in the scale, far outweigh them. Neither let any of us fear to overdo, to act vertuously too often.

The external causes of *vertue* are the *examples* of others, as in the before-named *example* of *Miltiades* and *Themistocles*; and *rewards* and *punishments*, as we shall shew more fully in their

172 *The Modern*
proper place.

The end of *vertue*, is *bonum civile*, the common good, the general interest of mankind, and this must needs be lovely in all our eyes, ἀγαπῆδον δὲ ἐνι θεῶν δὲ ἄνθρωπων, saith the *Philosopher*, it is honourable to do good to one, to a nation heroical; it is neer of kin to *divinity* for a man to be able to contribute towards the welfare of his whole *species*: and *Magistrates*, men in publick place, of whom it is spoken, *I have said ye are Gods*, are placed by God for the common good; those that are set to rule, like the Sun should be full of light, and heat, visible in *example*, and powerful *influence*.

CHAP. XIX.

*Of Probity, and the practice of it
among the Romans.*

THe external object, as it relates to the *Persons* towards whom *vertue* bends its eye, delivers it *Jannus*-like, looking forward by *Piety* upon *God*, backward by *Probity* upon *man*, providing a *well-being* both for *soul* and *body*, and directing us for the *benefit* of our selves and others.

Of the first, *Piety*, we have already spoken, the other, *Probity*, is therefore that which remains for the subject of our present discourse, and this meets

us well accompanied, noble followed, as having all those virtues in her *train*, which are necessary to enable us in performing our *duties* as we stand in all relations. For its *denomination*, we find it termed by the *Greeks* Καλοκαγαθία, and by the *Latines* *Honestas*, from *honor* *honour*; so ingenuously provident were the *Antients* that it might not be so much as mentioned without its due, *honour*. And indeed it is the very *abstract* of the other *virtues*; it is the *circle* from whence those noble *lines* are drawn, and the *center* in which they meet; it is the *salt* that seasons them, and the *soul* that informs them, that bestowes their glorious being. Without this, *Prudence* would be
but

but *cunning*. *Justice*, in execution, but a more specious and reserved kind of revenge; in *distribution*, but a keeping of credit to maintain our trade; in *rewarding*, but a *bribery* to gain affection, and encrease our dependancies. *Fortitude*, but a brutish *audacity*, and daring *rashness* to render our selves terrible, and gain *Domination*. *Temperance*, but a kind of *senslesnes* and *stupidity*, a *Stoical* piece of *tyranny* over our bodies.

Hence grew its esteem among the *Moralists*, which generally make the other vertues spring from the pregnant womb of *Probitie*; and hence came it to be honored among the *Romans*, which they beheld blessed with so glorious and numerous a pro-

geny, attended by so beautifull a company of *Daughters*.

This was it set *Numa* on the *Throne*, and made them with one consent call him from a private Country life to govern *Rome*, passing by the most noble among both *Romans* and *Sabines*. It was this fetched *Serranus* from the *Plough*, and adorned him with the absolute & uncontrollable power of *Dictator*. This encouraged them to elect *Cato* to be *Censor*, and pass by the noblest *Competitors*, when instead of courting the people, he seemed to threaten them, proclaiming, that by choosing him and *Valerius Flaccus*, whom they also made his *Colleague*, the *City* might be purged of its new corruptions, and the

ancient probity of manners restored. This made *Fabritius*, when the *Physician* sent him word, that if he pleased he would poison *Pyrrhus*, return the *Letter* to *Pyrrhus* with this exprobration, That he was most unfortunate in his choice of friends, as well as enemies; which when *Pyrrhus* had received, and hanging his *Physician*, returned the *Roman Captives* without ransom, *Fabritius* sent as many captives of his with this admonition, that he discovered the *Treason* not for any favour or respect he bore to him, but to let him know that the *Romans* abhorred by treachery to destroy their enemies. *Pyrrhus* had then invaded *Italy*, had overthrown the Consul *Levinus*,

and was grown numerous by the revolt of many of the people of *Italy* who lackied to his *Fortune*; his *Physician* unsought to, even of his own accord, offers to rid them of this *danger*, yet so great was their love to *honesty*, they chose to undergo any hazard, rather than to connive at a *dishonest act*, or in the least to bear with it though in a *Stranger*.

Behold O *Matchivilian*, this is that which truly establishest a *State*, when thy unworthy *policies*, though they may be prosperous for a while, are never long-lived, and thy rotten props will in the close fail thee, and bury thee in the ruins of that thou buildest upon them. Produce me an example, where
although

although *Prosperity* might lead the Van, reproach and ruine did not bring up the Rear? where thy *villanies* flourishing for a day, were not frost-nipt at night? where though they might bud in the morning, and blow at noon, they were not blasted in the evening, and their purple changed into fables, their rosie-tinctured mantles into nights black livery, double dy'd in *Infamy* and *Horror*? whereas vertuous *Honesty* renders *States* and *Persons* stable like it self, whose glorious edifices in the roughest and most boysterous storms stand unshaken like their foundation: yea and alwaies cloathes them with the tryumphant roabs of success, who in its *armour of proof* have

have combated their Foes. This was it set *Rome* aloft in spight of all opposition, and raised her on her feet, when ready to be trampled on by her fiercest foes. This was it upheld her courage in the midst of the greatest losses, and made her enemies tremble in the height of their victories, as accounting her invincible in her vertue, which would make all force stoop and vaile bonnet in the end. Thus may we see *Pyrhus* even reeking with a bloody *victory*, dispatch away his Ambassadour, and stretch out his victorious arms to implore a peace, whilest the beaten *Roman* disdains to treat, and can hardly be brought to give any terms to the Conqueror; rejecting his profered *Friendship*,

ship, as much as his *Gold* and *bribes*. For his *Ambassadour* could not fasten the least gift on any private person, nor obtain any other answer from the *Senate*, than a command to leave *Italy*, and that the *Consul* was coming, and in the head of the *Roman Legions* should deliver their Terms. This made *Fabritius* contemn his profered *Gold*, deride his stratagem of the *Elephant*, which was suddenly brought upon him to try if they could terrifie him; refuse his profer of being next the King, if he would continue with him; and return this brief answer, I am no more moved at your *Beast*, than I was with your *Gold*, and for me to live with thee would be perillous.

O King, for should thy Subjects once come to know me, they would choose rather to serve me than thee; account *Fabritius* more worthy of the *Throne*, than *Pyrrhus*. This was it carried *Cato* the elder through the greatest oppositions of the *Roman Nobility*, and set him above the reach of their envy and malice: this gave him the *Suffrages* from all his *Competitors*, the antient and noblest *Roman bloud* backt with all its factions and dependancies being unable to stand in competition with a *Plebeian Probitie*, or the whole *Patrician Order* to put stop to his being chosen *Censor*, yea and whom he pleased to be joined with him. This was it, not *affection* or *money*, yea that in
de-

despight of *Favour* and *Bribery* brought him off in all his accusations; so that he never was once condemned though fifty times impeached, but in every action had the day; yea this gave him the confidence to demand his greatest *adversary* to be Judge at his last tryal, who also gave sentence for him. So potent is *Honesty*, that *Malice* it self cannot but yield, and either openly acknowledge, or tacitly confess, that her roughest and best-edg'd files can't touch it. Who would not then imbrace this so potent, and excellent *vertue*? which even wrests *Encomiums* out of the mouths of enemies: which could make *Pyrrhus* with admiration cry out, *That it was easier to turn the Sun*

Sun from its course, than Fabritius from his integrity. And his Ambassadour *Cyneas* return this answer, when askt what he thought of *Rome*. *That it was a City of Kings, and a Senate of Gods;* Every private person vertuously commanding his affections, and the Magistrates divinely influential for the publick honor and safety.

And now comming to handle the particular *vertues*, we shall follow *Cicero l. i. offic.* in his division of them into *Prudence, Justice, Fortitude, and Temperance*, under which all necessary honest actions may be reduced; and these are commonly called the *Cardinal vertues*. *Prudence* that directs our *reason*, the other govern our *appetites*, as *Fortitude*.

tude and Temperance in adverse and prosperous affairs concerning our selves, Justice in that which pertains to others.

CHAP. XX.

Of Prudence.

THis *virtue* is called by the *Greeks* *φρόνησις*, ἀπὸ τῆς φρονέας, from the *mind*, whose chief ornament it is: By the *Latines* *Prudentia*, *quasi providentia à providendo*, it foreseeing what is to be avoided, what to be chosen, as most apposit for the well-being of our selves and others, it being also its special employment to provide for the future, and we are only to look upon it
in

in its politick capacity, as it is reduced under *Moral Philosophy*: for though it may be accounted an *intellectual virtue* in regard of its *subject* and *efficient cause*, as having its dependancy on the *understanding* and *judgement*: yet in respect of its *object* and *end* it becomes also *moral*, as which leads not only to contemplative but practical felicity, and beholds *civil good* as its most lovely object.

And indeed *prudence* is ἀρχιτέκτων the Master Workman, the principal Agent in the raising and composing of the noble frame of *virtue*, ὡς γὰρ αὐτὴν προσάξει ἕτως αἱ ἀρεταί, καὶ οἱ καὶ αὐτὰς πράττουσι : For as this directs, so do the virtues, and virtuous men act : This draws the lines of *Election*,
in

in whose rectitude the main force of *vertue* lies; this squares and contrives by *deliberation*, making the timbers fit, and the whole structure decent and usefull: yea so necessary an ingredient is it in *morality*, that *Aristotle* and with him all the *Moralists* have concluded,

First, That a man cannot be vertuous, unless he be prudent;
 οὐ γὰρ μόνον ἡ κατὰ τὸν ὀρθὸν λόγον, ἀλλὰ ἡ μετὰ τοῦ ὀρθοῦ λόγου ἔξις, ἀρετὴ ἔστι:
For vertue is not only an habit consonant to, but joined with right reason.

Secondly, That a man cannot be prudent, unless he be vertuous: for he must have a right end in all his actions, which is inconsistent with crooked manners. *Qualis vita, finis*
ita,

ita, may be well enough apply'd here; besides, *vice* perverts the judgement, καὶ διαψεύδεται ποιεῖται τὰς περὶ κλινὰς ἀρχὰς, and like a cheating Trades-man shews colors by a false light. It is therefore affirmed on all hands, κατὰ τε τὴν φρόνησιν, καὶ τὴν ἠθικὴν ἀρετὴν οὐκ ἔστι λείδαι το ἔργον, That by prudence and vertue, every work is made absolute. Vertue setting up a right end, and prudence making choice of apt means to bring us to that end.

Prudence thus comming within our verge, let us inquire what it is: And first we find Cicero in l. 2. de invent. thus telling us, That Prudence is an exact knowledge of what is both good and evill, Prudentia est rerum bonarum, malarum,

intrarumque peritia. And *Lipsius* makes it, *notitia rerum eventuumque, et judicium in iis rectum,*
 An ability in knowing, and judging aright of things and events. *Aristotle* defines it, *l. 6. eth. c. 5.* ἕξις ἀληθῆς μετὰ λόγῳ πρακτικὴ καὶ περὶ τὰ τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ ἀγαθὰ καὶ κακὰ,
 An habit conjoined with right reason, conversant and operative in those things which bring good or evil unto man.

And now having viewed its *essence*, let us a little consider its *operation*, and we find its employment to consist in a solid *deliberation* of those things which are good and profitable, not particularly onely to health & strength, but which generally conduce to a vertuous and happy life, *lib. 5. ethic. c. 5.* and this
 not

not by deliberating of the general precepts, and lawes of living, which are certainly defined, but by consulting how to square each single act by the streight rule of *vertue*; for in the variety of *circumstances* upon which the rectitude or pravity of action depends consists the *obscurity*, and in this *consultation* is solely requisite: And now *counsel* being taken, *prudence* decrees that good is to be chosen before evil, the greater good before the lesser, and the lesser evil before the greater; yet this onely *in malo tristi, non turpi*; for the prudent man alwaies shuns the least baseness; therefore the Philosopher tells us that there are some things which are to be abhorr'd above
torments

torments, or death it self; thus *Pericles* being intreated by a friend to give a false testimony, returned this answer, Δεῖ με συμ-
 πρᾶττειν τοῖς φίλοις, ἀλλὰ μέλει θεῶν, I'm
 only to help my friends in such
 things as offend not the Gods ;
 and the *French* History affords
 a memorable example of this
 in the Prince of *Conde* , who
 being treacherously surpris'd by
Charles the 9th. and word sent
 him that he must choose either
 to go to Mass, to dy , or to be
 perpetually imprisoned, nobly
 answered, *For the first, by Gods*
assistance, I will never do it, for
the other two let the King do as he
please, yet I doubt not but God by
his Fatherly providence will turn
all to the best: He refuses the
 crime, neither would he choose
 the

the punishment, lest he might seem to disavow his own innocence: Whereas *David*, convinced of his guilt *in numbering the people*, by choosing the Pestilence, before Sword or Famine, as a more mild and fatherly punishment, acted the part of a prudent man, 2 Sam. 24.

CHAP. XXI.

Of the Causes of Prudence, Natural parts, Experience, Learning, Travel, &c.

THe chief causes of Prudence may be reduced under three heads, *Nature, Use, Learning.*

First,

First, there must be some foundation in nature, some ground whereon to build, *ex quovis ligno non fit Mercurius*, every block will not make a Mercury, it is in vain to wash an *Æthiopian*, and though a fool be brayed in a Morter he will never become wise: therefore the *Moralists* generally hold these three things requisite to the acquiring of *Prudence*, *Σύνεισις*, *Δεινότης*, *μνήμη*, a cleer judgement, a quick Apprehension, and a strong Memory; The two first being necessary to a right judging, and readily applying apt means for gaining our end. Thus *Thucydides* in lib. 1. gives us an eminent example in the person of *Themistocles*, who without long warn-

K

ing

ing or tedious consultation, by the very acuteness of his understanding gave the best counsel: in future things he could exactly conjecture what would happen; in present affairs he was quick of dispatch; he was most dexterous at discovery in unknown, and in obscure things above all men could foresee what might be for the better, and what for the worse: to sum up all, what by the strength of nature, and help of deliberation, he became so exact, as he seldom or never missed his mark. And Livie in 4. dec. lib. 9. shews another in Cato Major, *In hoc viro tanta vis animi, ingenique fuit, ut quocunque loco natus esset, fortunam sibi ipse facturum fuisse videre eum: nulla ars neque priva-*
te,

ta, neque publicæ rei gerendæ ei defuit, urbanas, rusticasque res pariter callebat: ad summos honores alios Scientia juris, alios eloquentia, alios gloria militaris provexit; huic versatile ingenium sic pariter ad omnia fuit, ut natum ad id unum diceres, quodcunque ageret. The last which is Memory furnishes us with examples and presidents by which we are taught both by other mens losses or advantages, what course, and how we should steer in all our affairs. Thus the *Philosopher* in his little book of the Vertues stiles Memory the cause, and that known verse, *usus me genuit, mater peperit memoria*, makes Use the Father, and Memory the Mother of Prudence. *Demosthenes* saith

it is required in a prudent man to remember what is past, to dispatch and mind whats present, and to provide for what may happen. And *Isocrates* gives this rule, That when we deliberate, we ought to consider of past examples, for by calling to mind things that are gone, we shall be better enabled to make provision for things that are to come. We shall sum up this with that of *Strada* in his *prolus. academ.* *Qui memoria præ aliis valet, gloriatur tanquam excellenti vitæ bono, tanquam thesauro, et penæ disciplinarum, germana literaturæ, musarum Parente, altrice sapientiæ, insigni demum argumento divinitatis;* as was observably eminent in those prudent men *Homer*,
Aristotle,

Aristotle, Seneca, and especially Julius Caesar, who is reported never to have forgotten any thing, but an injury.

The second help is *use or experience*, which furnish us with an insight in single actions, which are most necessary the prudent mans knowledge; natural abilities, and learning do often make men opiniative, and to presume themselves knowing and wise: but it is experience that brings solidity. The greatest Clerks are not alwaies the wisest men; Therefore *Theognis* concludes Δόξα μὲν ἀνθρώποισι κακὸν μέγα πῖερα δ' ἀρίστον, Opinion to be of evil consequence, but use of the best concernment; to which *Lipsius* assents, especially in those that are
to

are to sit at the helm in a *State* : indeed this is it which in every art makes a man his *Crafts-Master*; and there is both a civill and Military art requisite to the well-governing of a *State* : therefore your experienced Soldier is cho~~sen~~ to command, and men most versed in *State* affairs held fittest for counsel, and government. Suppose we were to perform a far voyage, or to enter an unknown and dangerous harbour, would we not choose him for a Pilot who had oftenest steered it, who was best acquainted with the passage ? truly let us consider and we shall find a *Common-Wealth* may properly enough be likened to a Ship, and the mannagement of affairs to steerage;

ſteerage; thus Horace Ode 14.
*O navis, referent in mare te novi
 ſuſtus*: And the ingenuous
 and learned *Johnson* in his *Cati-
 line* brings *Cato* thus ſpeaking
 to the then choſen Conſul *Ci-
 cero*.

————— Each petty hand
 Can ſteer a Ship becalm'd: but
 he that will
 Govern, and carry her to her
 ends, muſt know
 His tides, his currents, how to
 ſhift his ſails;
 What ſhe will bear in foul, what
 in fair weather;
 Where her ſprings are, her leaks
 and how to ſtop them;
 What ſands, what ſhelves, what
 rocks do threaten her,
 The forces, and the natures of
 all winds,

Gusts, storms, and tempests.

When her Keel ploughs Hell,
And Deck knocks Heaven, then
to mannage her

Becomes the name, and office of
a Pilot.

Thus the prudent man must
not onely be well acquainted
with his own strengths, the
ability of the means he hath
chosen as fit to bring him to his
proposed end, but with the
vigor and force of whatsoever
is likely to oppose him : He
must provide for open assaults,
and countermines against under-
hand practices, for should he
depend onely upon his own
power, he will be at loss upon
every opposition; he will bowl
short of his Mark, unless he
allow for rubs, which may be
in

in the way. And hence it is that the *Moralists* generally exclude young men as incapable of *Prudence*, who by the natural heat and vigor of youth are too fiery, apt to presume and run headlong into action without any deliberation; whereas grave men, through use, and experience are made wary and provident; They will look before they leap, consider whether they shall be able to carry on such or such a design, manage all opposition, before they embark themselves in it: therefore *Homer* being to present a prudent Counsellor under the person of *Nestor*, makes him 300 years of age; a man of the greatest experience, who had waded through the employ-

K 5

ments

ments of three ages.

The third help is *Learning*; for there being so great a variety, such nooks, and corners in action, that light is necessary on all sides to further us in our search, it will be needfull for us that would be prudent to fly to *Learning* for aid, which can afford us noble and copious assistance.

As first *History*, which is as it were another *use*, but of a more vigorous capacity. Man clog'd with matter can move but slowly, and by his birth and outward concernments is commonly circumscribed within some narrow nook or angle of the World, where he is constrain'd to spend that short time of life which nature allows: so
that

that let him employ his utmost diligence in observation, and most strictly take notes, his knowledge can arrive but to the half of one ages experience, and that too but of a few Nations actions; whereas *History* layes before us all mankind in all ages acting in whatever as yet hath happened, and providing for, and against whatever could fall under humane consideration, so that we shall not meet with any affair which may not be paralleld, and which we may not find managed by others, even to our hands, in the large Volume of *History*. This is that which can make a young man prudent, and exalt his experience above the oldest he that shall stand on tipto upon his

his own observation: this is that upon whose Shoulders a Dwarf in years setting his feet, shall see further than a Nestor, than the tallest Gyant standing on the ground of his own experience. This is that, which not only enriches the memory with variety and plenty of actions and examples, but also enobles the mind with excellent and choice precepts, with good and wholesome admonitions; for wise and prudent men generally being the Penmen to *History*, have flourished her about, and embroidered the edges of her Garments with rich and precious maxims, costly and curious observations of their own. We will conclude *Histories* character with *Heinsius*, *Est certissi-*
ma

ma divinæ erga Homines benignitatis obſes, veritatis mater, vitæ norma, actionum propagatrix vera, Prudentiæ (ut quidam apud Græcos loquitur) metropolis. Hæc ætatem noſtram cum ætate æquat univerſi; hæc imaginem, non corporis, ſed vitæ, ſed conſiliorum, ſed animi ad poſteros transfundit, et expreſſam non in ære, aut ferro, non picturæ beneficio aut plâſticæ, immortalî rerum ac verborum copia delineatam omnibus ſpectandam exhibet.

And it is reported of *Lucius Lucullus*, who conquered two great Kings, *Mithridates* and *Tigranes*, that by Hiſtory he was trayned up to that ſkill in Martial affairs, which rendred him both an able and victorious General, one who with 12000
foot

foot, and 3000 horse, besieged the great City *Tigranocerta*, and beat *Tigranes* comming to relieve it with 20000 darts and slings, 150000 foot, and 55000 horse, 17000 of which were armed cappa-pe.

Secondly, As *History*, so *Philosophy*, as first *Moral*, confers much help in attaining of *Prudence*.

As 1. in teaching those peculiar rules of life, and Canons, according to which the prudent man governs his counsels, and actions; besides, it is generally held that a man cannot be prudent unless he be virtuous, now the readiest way to become so is to know what virtue is, and wherein it consists, which *Moral Philosophy* teaches, together with

with the means to attain it. To sum up all, *prudence*, it self, with all its precepts, and rules, is here handled; whether then should we go for *water* but to the *Fountain*, where it is most pleasant, *Dulcius ex ipso fonte bibuntur aqua*, most abundant, and most easie to come by?

Secondly, *Speculative Philosophy* is a great help; this confers *Sapience*, a dear friend, and support to *Prudence*, upon whose precepts *Prudence* builds, and laiest the foundation of its rules; as for example, upon the doctrine of the *rational soul*, the doctrine of the *will*, and of the *affections*: neither can any man be *prudent*, unless he be able to discern those various circumstances of *persons*, *places*, and *times*,

times, all which are distinctly handled in *Speculative Philosophy*. Thus *Aristotle* affirms *Sapience* to be marvellously profitable for the solid understanding of humane felicity, (which is the end *prudence* proposes) both because the operations of the *will* have their dependency upon the operations of the *understanding*, for we will after the same rate as we understand; as also because many arguments may be drawn from *Speculative Philosophy* which may much conduce to the exercise of virtue; as an insight into the temper of our bodies may persuade us to *Temperance*. And *Lipsius* commends both *Moral* and *Speculative Philosophy*; *Dux istæ partes formant hominis animum, vel*
ad

ad virtutis amorem, & pretium, vel ad notitiam Cælestium, & Terrestrium, è quibus magnitudo animi oritur, & simul modestia, collatione utrorumque, because both of them create in the mind of man as well a love and esteem of vertue, as a knowledge of the nature of Cælestial and earthly things, from which springs magnanimity, and modesty too by comparing each with other. To sum up all with that known saying of Divine Plato, Then Commonwealths shall become happy, when Philosophers are made Magistrates, or Magistrates addict themselves to the study of Philosophy.

Thirdly, *Philology*, a skill in Languages is of much importance to a prudent man, by which he

he is made able not onely to converse with, but to dive into the actions of *Foreiners*; indeed all commerce, all correspondences, all leagues are behold- ing to this, without which na- tion could not discourse with nation but by signs, by mop- ping and mowing as *Monkies* do; and it would be as possible for us to understand the Cats waw- ling in our gutters, as an Am- bassadour, or Merchant which could not speak *English*.

Lastly, Both *Geometry*, and *Geography* are of no small use to advance Prudence; and *Aristo- tle* is bold to affirm it impossible for a young man to be prudent without skill in the *Mathema- tikes*, 6. *Eth.* 8. c.

But to these three, to wit,
Natural

Natural parts, Use, Learning, we may adde as instrumental causes both a careful observati-
 on of examples, and also Tra-
 vail; thus we shall find *Demosthe-
 nes* affirming ἀνθρώποι τοῖς ἑτέ-
 ρων παραδείγμασι χράμενοι μᾶλλον ἐυ-
 λαβεῖς γίνονται: and *Terence*, Hoc
 vero est sapere, in aliorum vitam
 tanquam in speculum intueri, et ex
 illis exemplum capere tibi quod ex
 usu fiet. The wise man dresses
 himself in the glass of other
 mens actions, in which he may
 discover what is comely and fit
 for him: and *Homer* gives tra-
 vail for a chief cause of prudence
 in his *Ulysses*, πολλῶν δ' ἀνθρώπων
 ἰδεῖν ἄσπεα, καὶ νόον ἔγνω. And now I
 shall tum up all with a few ex-
 amples, which are held by many
 more prevalent in perswasion
 than

than advice or instruction. And first, *Solon the Athenian* Law-maker was not onely endowed with parts, exercised in affairs, improved by travail, but excellently learned, as many of his writings testify; yea so desirous was he of knowledge, that upon his death-bed being visited by some friends, he lifted up his head, and listned to their discourse, and when asked for what end he was so attentive, returned this answer, *that knowing this, I may dy more learned.* Thus *Epimanondas*, the glory of *Thebes*, is reported by *Thucydides* to have studied much, but *ἀνευ μαλακίας*, without effeminacy. Thus *Philip*, thus *Alexander*, thus *Philopomen*, *Cato the younger*, *Julius* and *Augustus*
Cæsar

Cæſar were learned, the latter of which diſcharged a *Conſular Legat*, as rude, unlearned, and unfit for employment, becauſe he had written *ixi* for *ipſi*. Thus *Marcus Antonius* the good Emperor was called the *Philosopher*, and that famous Lady *Iſabella* of *Spain*, and the incomparable *Elizabeth* of *England* were ſtudious and learned.

CHAP. XXII.

Of the Prudence of the Romans.

THis victorious and fortunate *Common-wealth* was ſo ſenſible of the neceſſity of this *vertue* to the wel-being of a *State*, that they took the greateſt

greatest care to provide that able and prudent persons should only be admitted to the management of affairs : as for example, they had their *Lex annalis*, the Law that provided, that none should bear office before such and such an age, because they would not have unexperienced, rash and imprudent young men trusted at the helm of State. Thus *Latinus Pacatus in Laudat. Theodosii. Annorum*, inquit, *ita cura fuit majoribus, ut non solum in amplissimis Magistratibus adipiscendis, sed in Præturis quoq; aut Ædilitatibus capeffendis ætas sit spectanda petitorum; neque quisquam tantum valuerit nobilitate, vel gratia, qui annos comitali lege præscriptos, festinatis honoribus occuparit.*

Thus

Thus Cicero Philip. 5. *Legibus annalibus cum grandiore ætate ad Consulatum constituebant, temeritatem adolescentiæ verebantur.*

Thus Ovid 5. Fast.

—— *Finitaque certis
Legibus est ætas, unde petatur
honos.*

And we find that those that set the fewest will have 25 years of age the time wherin the first office to wit of Quæstor could be born; for that of Ædilis, and Tribune 27 or 28. for Prætor 35. for Consul 42, or 43. as Cicero plainly tells us in Philip. 5. *Quid Alexander Macedo, qui cum ab ineunte ætate res maximas gerere cepisset, trigesimo tertio anno mortem obiit? quæ ætas nostris legibus decem annis minor quam Consularis.* And though

though this Law might now and then be dispensed with in some extraordinary danger, and for some more than ordinary worth and vertue in some single person, as *Scipio Africanus*, *Scipio Æmilianus*, and *Pompeius Magnus*: as there can be no general rule but 'may admit of some exception, especially where the reason of the Law pleads against the Letter, which taken strictly would deprive the State of the service of such eminent Citizens when her dangers would admit of no delay: yet for the general it was inviolably observed until the unruly and tyrannous *Monarchs* turned this topsie turvy, together with all other their most sacred Laws and Liberties. Thus also we shall find

find *Lycurgus* that wise Lawgiver among the *Spartans*, (who so long as they observed his rules were the most eminent State among the *Greeks*) would admit none into the Senate, unless he were sixty years of age.

But we shall conclude this with some few examples which may convince us throughly of the benefit of *Prudence*. *Cato the elder* being *Consul*, had *Spain* allotted for his Province, which was then near to a total revolt; coming thither the *Celtiberians*, a warlike and populous nation, offered to aid him for 2000 talents; this proposition was generally disliked by the *Romans*, as a thing unworthy the *Roman* magnanimity, by

L money

money to buy aid or friendship, until the *Consul* convinc'd them how small a thing the *Celtiberians* demanded, without whose aid there was no hopes of victory; For should we overcome by their assistance, we will pay them out of the enemies spoils, said he, but should we and they be beaten, neither will they be alive to demand, nor shall we be left to pay. *Scipio Africanus*, being about to invade *Afrike*, and carry the war to the gates of *Carthage*, prudently seeing that a State which warred by Mercenaries, would be weakest at home, selected 300 able and resolute young men out of the *Roman* Legions, whom he kept about him, none knowing to what end, and being arrived in *Sicilie*,

cily, he commanded 300 of the noblest and wealthiest *Sicilian* young Gentlemen to appear such a day with their horse and arms. The time being come, he demanded whether they were willing to go with him, or no? for he had rather they should now tell the truth, than afterwards be unprofitable, and unactive, as such would be. Whereupon one of them answered, that if he were put to his choice he should rather stay at home; *Scipio* commending him for his ingenuity, and calling one of the 300 hundred *Roman* young men, this youth, saith he, shall serve in your stead upon condition you will furnish him with horse and arms, and take him home, and exercise and teach

L 2

him;

him; which he joyfully consenting to, all the rest presently desired a dismissal upon the same terms: Thus raised he a gallant Troop, which did him great service, without charge to the *Common-wealth*, whose treasury was emptied by a long and chargeable war: and obliged the *Sicilians* and their friends, by dismissing their persons from a dangerous war upon so small and inconsiderable a condition as that seemed to them, who would have given far more had they been put to their own choice. And indeed it is not so much the tax, as the manner of laying and levying it, that begets distastes, tumults, insurrections, and revolts.

Had

Had *Scipio* laid this charge of providing horse and arms, &c. upon these *Sicilian* Gentlemen, without any other circumstance, what mutterings would there have been? why should we above all others be thus used? and what hatred would it have procured him? whereas doing as he did, first he seem'd to have a great confidence in their worth and valour, to choose them out of the thousands of *Sicily*; then a great regard of and civility to their persons, by enquiring whether they were willing to serve or no; Lastly a greater respect to their contentment than his own, by so gentle and easie a dismissal of them whom he had honoured above others, and

who by refusing to engage with him, disappointed his hopes, & made void the great expectations he had of them : and so by this means imposed an obligation upon them, who in another way would have looked on it as a great discourtesie. And as we find the benefit of Prudence in these, so may we see the mischiefs which improvident rashness wrought in other examples. As in *Coriolanus*, who by his stubborn and harsh carriage brought banishment on himself, a miserable war and disgrace upon his Countrey, which at last caused his death. Thus *Terentius Varro* by rashness and imprudency had almost ruined his Countrey in that fatal and bloody battail

at *Cannæ*. And multitudes of other examples we ſhall meet with in all Hiſtories, yea and in our own dayly experience and obſervation.

CHAP. XXI II.

Of Juſtice, and the Roman practice of it.

IT would be a thing of the ſmalleſt concernment both to know and chooſe what is good and to accomodate our actions to the exact circumſtances of place, time, and perſons, unleſs we ſhould acknowledge our ſelves obliged to vertuous actions, and to a total obedience of all her lawes, which is Juſtices

L 4

stices part to teach, whose praise were more proper for a prolix Oration than the narrow limits of our discourse. *Aristotle* in brief calls it, *κερτίστην τῶν ἀρετῶν*, the best of the virtues, And *Plato* ἔθ' ἑσπερας ἔθ' ἑωσ; ἔτω θαυμασδς, that neither the morning nor evening Star are so admirable. *Cicero* in l. 3. offic. *Justitia est virtus excellentissima, & Splendidissima, omnium virtutum regina, ac domina.* And *Scalig.* Exercit. 307. Sect. 3. *Justitia est conservatrix conjunctionis humanæ, quæ conjunctio ad beatitudinem magna via est.* Indeed it is the use of other virtues towards others: πολλοὶ γὰρ ἐν μὲν τοῖς οἰκείοις τῇ ἀρετῇ δύναται χρῆσθαι ἐν δὲ τοῖς πρὸς ἕτερον ἂ δύνασθαι. For as the Philosopher, there are many

ny that can be vertucus for their own concernment, who in other mens will faulter. Therefore as Cicero, *Justitia foras spectat, totamque se ad alienas utilitates porrigit, atque explicat.* Justice will teach them to act vertuously towards others. It is ἀγαθὸν ἀλλότριον, a good to others, and indeed the most beautiful, perfect, and best vertue. For he is the most vertuous. ἔχ' ὁ πρὸς αὐτὸν χρώμενος τῇ ἀρετῇ ἀλλὰ ὁ πρὸς ἕτερον τὸτο γὰρ ἔργον, who is good to others; here lies the point; *hic labor hoc opus est*, To make profit, pleasure, revenge, &c. give the way to vertue, to right and equity.

It is called by the Greeks δίκαισυνη, by the Latines *Justitia*, and it is either general which

consists in a virtuous obedience of all laws tending to the preservation of humane society, and this is ὅλη ἀρετὴ an universall virtue, according to that of the Proverb,

— Ἐν δὲ δικαιοσύνῃ συλλήβδην πασὶ ἀρετῇσι.

Or particular, which is a keeping a mean and equality in all those things in which adversity or prosperity hath to do, or wherein fortune rules; to give the definition of both according to Aristotle, ἕξις ἀφ' ἧς πρακὴ καὶ τῶν δικαίων ἐισὶ καὶ ἀφ' ἧς δίκαια πράγῃσι καὶ βέλονται τὰ δίκαια, it is an habit apting men to just actions, whereby they are enabled to do, and will just things.

Now for to handle this at large, I suppose would be to little purpose, there being none that perceive

perceive not that it is the chief duty, as being of general concernment, of the Magistrate to look well to the exercise of this vertue: I shall onely therefore hint in some cases which are essentiall to the welbeing of a State.

As first in cases of publick danger, the particular members of a State are bound *in justice to help the publick with their private stocks*, thus we shall find in the *Roman State*; *Liv. dec. 3. l. 6.* They brought in all their Gold, Silver, and coined Brasse, reserving only enough for an Ornament of distinction, and for the publick service of their Gods, into the Common treasury, and you shall have a motive, *Respublica in columbia & privitas*

*privatas res facile salvas præstet :
publica prodendo tua nequicquam
serves.*

Secondly, the *Magistrate*, after the danger is past, is in Justice bound to see these publick debts satisfied, there being nothing more to be preserved inviolable than the publick faith: Besides Prudence teaches this, for if the people perceive them negligent in their publick trust, it will make them refractory, and careless in their private duties. We shall instance no further than in trading, a man once breaking his word, will never be trusted upon his bond, and it would be a sad plunge to put a State to get another State to be bound for them, and an impossibility to find any private security

security for such large sums.

The third thing required by Justice is, That the *Magistrate* ought not in the least to incroach upon the right of particular persons, further than the common necessity or good requires: thus in the beforementioned place we shall find, that first the *Consuls*, then the *Senate*, then the *Roman Knights* brought in their Gold, &c. They were examples to the people, not exactors upon them. And to say the truth, the *Magistrate* is intrusted for the publick good, and it is not in his power to do a private injury, they are *Gods Substitutes*, whose glorious attribute it is, That he cannot do injustice and the *Peoples Trustees*, to rule for their good: now grant that they

they may extrajudicially take away one mans right; and it will follow that they may take away any mans, and all mens.

The fourth thing is, *Inviolably to observe all Leagues, Treaties, and Publick promises with Foreiners*: This will make them be believ'd, lov'd, and honored abroad. Thus we shall see that the *Romans* in defence of, and revenge for their Allyes of *Saguntum*, undertook that long, bloody, and almost fatal second Punick war; nay and when *Hannibal* was in the heart of *Italy*, yet sent they Armies into *Spain*, and upon the first opportunity restored that City, gathered the scattered Inhabitants, bought those that were slaves, and took a sharp revenge upon

upō their borderers, even to the final ruin of the Nation which had been instrumental in their miseries. Thus ſhall we ſee them reſtore the Kingdom of *Egypt* to *Ptolomy* their Ally, when driven out by a popular inſurrection, nay and preſerve it in his ſons, whom he by Will left to their protection, in ſpight of the force and ambition of the great *Antiochus*. This made them honourable, and procured them ſaſt Friends, and ſo it will any State that practiſes after their Copy.

The fifth thing is, *To have a ſacred reſpect to the Perſons of Ambaſſadours, and Agents; who are indeed the Miniſters of peace; and indeed there can be nothing more brutiſh, and leſſe*

leſſe manly, than to affront and violate theſe Doves which bring Olive branches in their mouths, whom the Law of Nations gives protection to : thus ſhall we find the *Romans* taking no where ſo ſharp a revenge as upon *Corinth*, which had abuſed their Ambaſſadors : and when they for reſpect to *Ambuſtius* (who being an Ambaſſador to the *Gauls*, had contrary to the Law of Nations taken arms and fought againſt them) denyed to deliver him up as the *Fæciales* their Heralds at arms had counſel'd, in the ſack of their City they paid the reward of ſlighting this ſacred Law, and had neer loſt all by the unjuſt endeavoring to preſerve one offender from *juſtice*.

The

The sixth thing is, To endeavour first by fair means for satisfaction, and if these will not prevail, then to send them a publick Defiance: This the Romans constantly practised, as to instance once for all, *Liv. d. 4. l. 6.* Consul deinde *M. Acilius* ex S. c. ad collegium *Fæcialium* retulit, ipsi ne utique regi *Antiocho* indiceretur bellum? an satis esset ad præsidium aliquod ejus nunciare? et num *Ætolis* quoque separatim indici juberunt bellum? et num prius societas eis et amicitia renuncianda esset, quam bellum indicendum? *Fæciales* responderunt, jam ante sese, cum de *Philippo* consulerentur, decrevisse nihil referre ipsi coram an ad præsidium nunciaretur, amicitiam renunciatam videri, cum legatis toties

*ties repetentibus res, nec reddi, nec
satisfieri æquum censuissent; Æ-
tolos ultro sibi bellum indixisse,
cum Demetriadem sociorum urbem
per vim occupassent, &c.*

The seventh is, Honourably
to reward their own Citizens who
deserve well. And there can be
no greater spur to vertue, nor
a better way to propagate and
increase it. Thus we shall see
what Tryumphs, what Ovati-
ons, what Crowns were con-
ferred on victorious Generalls,
and valiant Souldiers; as he
that preserved the life of a Ci-
tizen had an Oaken Crown, and
he that first gain'd the top of
the wall, a Mural one, by the
Roman State.

The eight is, Duly and justly
to pay those that serve them. And
this

this will render them well-beloved, and well followed; and though they make use onely of their own Citizens, yet ought these to be well paid who gallantly venture their lives; shall they be liberal of their blood, and shall others be niggardly of their purses? besides, they leave their callings, and all other means of providing maintenance. Thus was there a constant provision of lands among the *Romans* for those that had fulfilled their time of warfare, neither shall we ever find a mutiny for want of pay; and our Saviour tells us, No man goeth to a warfare on his own charge.

The ninth is, *To have a tender regard of their Widdowes and Orphans, who have nobly lost their lives*

lives in t heir Countrey's defence. Shall we enjoy rest, and abundance, & see theirs perishing for want by whose valour we have been preserved? besides, it is a great discouragement to others to venture their lives for us, when they shall see such a calamity in their deaths ready to cease the dearest pledges of their souls. Thus the *Romans* provided them portions out of the publick Stock.

The tenth is, *To have the like regard of such men and their families, who have liberally layd out their own estates in the publick service, or have been so publickly minded, as that they have not regarded their private benefit.* Thus did the *Romans* often bury great and noble Captains, who died

di'd poor, on the public charge,
and bestow their Daughters
according to their qualities.

The eleventh is, *To Crown
the Memories of those who had
done publick service, with Statues,
and triumphant Arches*, which
was every where to be seen in
that noble and grateful City of
Rome. And as these are just,
necessary, of good concern-
ment for the nourishing of no-
ble spirits, and producing brave
actions, so on the other side it
will be the same.

Twelfthly, *Severely to punish all
incendaries, seditious, trayte-
rous, and cowardly persons*, and
that first to amend such, se-
condly to keep the publick au-
thority from contempt, third-
ly to terrifie others by their ex-
amples,

amples. Thus Seneca, *Ni mia enim licentia adversus malos, crudelitas est adversus bonos.* And Cicero, *Quare ita probanda est mansuetudo, ut adhibeatur Reipublicæ causa severitas, sine qua administrari civitas non potest.* And indeed *obsta principiis*, to nip such practices in the bud, is the safest way, which by connivency may grow to such an height as it will be hard to resist: a small spark unregarded may kindle a flame that shall burn a City: and the Romans were so careful in this, that the greatest services, and noblest extraction could not turn the Scale of Justice, as in *Manlius Capitolinus, Saturninus, Tiberius* and *Caius Gracchus, Catiline, Lentulus, Cethegus, &c.*

Lastly

Lastly, To take an exact account of those that shall embezzle or purloin the Publick treasure; tyrannize and oppresse the people under their charge. For connivency in such cases will be of very bad consequence, both in keeping the publick poor and behind-hand, in making Officers Knaves, and wicked, and in undoing, disheartning and enraging the people: therefore we shall find the *Romans* very strict in this point, often calling to account and condemning, even some very eminent for other deserts, as in *Scipio Asiaticus*, *Marcellus*, and those noble Orations of *Tully* against *Verres*. And indeed this is the onely means to preserve peace and plenty; for

a poor people will be alwaies
 busling, and an oppressed
 careless to gather, or play the
 good husbands, not knowing
 how long they shall enjoy their
 own. Therefore *Boetius*
 excellently saies, *Annum bonum,*
non tam de magnis fructibus,
quam de juste regnantibus
existimandum, the one will
 quickly be devoured without
 the other.

CHAP. XXIV.

Of Laws, and the English Laws.

IT followes now therefore,
 offenders being to be restrain-
 ed, to shew what that is
 which must do it, and that is
 Law,

Law, which is the proper medicine for a Commonwealth in time of peace, in war there must be a sharper and quicker course taken: and indeed this is so necessary, that as *Livy* saith, *Multitudo coalescere in unius populi corpus, nulla re, quam legibus, potest*. There can be no communion, no society without Laws; these preserve property, and encourage industry, whereas should men be left at uncertainties, they would like wild and ravenous Beasts, wander, chasing upon their prey where they met with any weaker than themselves: but this general assertion is taken for granted on all hands, we shall only therefore endeavor to give our thoughts in some particulars,

lars, which seem to concern the *Laws of England*.

As first that our *Generous and knowing Ancestors* plainly perceiving that there could be no *Liberty* where there was no *Law*, were very careful to bring all things to a *certainty*, so that the very *Judges* are obliged to take notice of it as well as the people, and are bound up to observe the *Law* as much as *Plantiff* or *Defendant*: and this, because to set up *Arbitrary Courts* or *Judges* were to leave the people to their will, and in a mist to grope after surmizes what such or such persons would determine; and indeed until men were omniscient, or could prophetically foretel the imaginations of the Rulers or Judges hearts, it were the

the highest piece of injustice to call men to account for a thing committed against no law, and a thing not to be named to condemn them. What could a man call his own, unless there were *tenures warranted* and confirmed by *Law*? and to bring a criminal process for a thing nowhere declared a *crime*, would be a *Tyranny* our Monarchs in the worst ages would have blush'd at.

But it may be said, *What need there so many? these engender but strife and vexation*; truly for strife its the effect of peoples perverseness, not the *law*: and should those actions of *Battery*, actions upon the case for words, and actions of *trespass* be taken away, we should quickly see

M 2

the

the people make themselves *Judges*, and by revenging themselves fall together by the ears: our wise *Ancestors* being aware of such a mischief thought it better to let them vent their petty *animosities* in a *sute* where some small matter of money might be thrown away, and spend their spleen in opening each others purse, than to fall into deadly *feuds*, wherein kinred on both sides would engage, and so print their revenges in *murder* and *ruin*, as we have heard practised in the Northern parts of this Island, and our forefathers saw, and provided against. For let us assure our selves, to provide no remedy by *law* against these
injuries

injuries, which are the main beginnings of all quarrels, would not only make men more ready to provoke, but others as apt to revenge themselves being provoked, and of what consequence this will be to the endangering the civil peace, good, and quiet of a Nation, I leave to the world to judge.

To conclude, as the *Law of England* gives rules, and teaches men their *duties*, so is it the most careful and provident for their tryals; it so abhors arbitrariness (as the enemy of liberty, and father of injustice) that it will not trust the matter of Fact, and of Law in one hand, but sets *twelve men of the neighbourhood* to give their verdict for fact; against whom it al-

lowes an attaint, and being found guilty inflicts on them a dreadful punishment; so careful is it of the lives and liberties of particular persons, and so provident that *Justice* should be impartially administred; And now if any by his living in *Turky* is become enamoured of slavery, let him choose arbitrary Courts, for my part I desire a rule to teach me what may be an offence, and *Judges* who are bound by oath to observe that rule to give sentence, and twelve of the neighbourhood to enquire of the fact, and against whom there lies an attaint, and upon eviction a dreadful punishment, before an arbitrary Court, though never so carefully picked, and so

so I am sure do all understanding *English* men, who any whit prize and value their liberties.

Another objection there is against the *Judges*, That they are for life; and that such a continuance may make them remiss and sloathful, and that by a continual use they become less reverent of Justice, as a work which dayly use makes tedious and clogging: not omitting that it may create faction and combination, as *Livy* notes of the *Carthaginians*, *qui unum ejus ordinis, idem adversos omnes habebat*; as lastly that it may beget corruption by taking away fear of calling to account: and therefore the *Romans* *Decurias Iudicum scribebant, ex honestissimis,*

simis, & ex censu (ne paupertas ad culpam impelleret): sed non eas omnes assidue judicare volebant, duntaxat quotannis certum & necessarium numerum sorte legebant, reliquis tunc feriatis. All this we allow in arbitrary Judges, who cannot be too short a time limited; but where there are lawes according to which they are to judge, there they ought to have experience and knowledge, which must of necessity encrease by practice and continuance. Thus the *Romans* whilst they were poor and in continual war, there was no great cause of strife, wealth being wanting, and the war employing them and keeping them busie, so that they had little leisure for private brawls:

brav
to e
had
wer
pro
dle
take
will
lofs
inev
at v
call
will
nati
mus

brawls : but when they began to enjoy peace and plenty, they had their *Decemviri*, which were of continuance, and still provided by new Lawes to bridle new enormities. So that take away law and continuance will be as dangerous, as the loss of *liberty* and *right* will be inevitable ; for we must hold all at will, and have no rule to call Judges to account by, whose will must be our final determination, and as they think so must the Bell tink.

CHAP. XXV.

Of Fortitude, and the Roman practice of it.

THis vertue by the *Greeks* is stiled *Ανδρεία*, ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀνδρός, from a man, because it is peculiar to that sex, and is seldome found in women, and that in regard of the temperament, which must be hot and dry, and in a heart which is well compact, solid, and full of spirit: Therefore *Cicero* 2. *Tuscul.* *Viri propria maximè est fortitudo, cujus munera duo sunt, nempe mortis & doloris contemptio.*

We find it defined by the
Philosopher,

Philosopher, ἀνδρεία ἐστὶ μεσότης πρὸς φόβον καὶ θάρσος, to be a virtue keeping a mean in fear and confidence. And it is divided into publick and private.

Private is a noble and patient undergoing of adversity, as Cicero 4. Tuscul. Fortitudo est scientia perferendarum rerum, vel affectio animi in patiando, et ferendo, summæ legi parens sine timore: Et in l. 1. offic. Fortis & constantis animi est, non perturbari in rebus asperis, nec tumultuantem dejici de gradu, ut dicitur, sed præsentī animo uti, et nec à consilio, nec à ratione discedere; And Horace l. 2. od. 10.

Rebus angustis animosus, atque

Fortis apparet——

Publick is a fearless undertaking.

taking, and constant wading through such perils, wherein our deeds and examples may bring benefit to our Countrey, and honour and renown to our selves; and this where, when, and how we ought, as *l. 3 eth. c. 7.*

By this then we may behold, First, that Self murder is no Fortitude, for as *Curtius* saith, *Non fortium virorum est odisse vitam, sed contemnere mortem*, but rather a cowardice that makes them fling themselves into the arms of death to avoid some more threatening evil. Besides, they are injurious to the Commonwealth, which they deprive of a member; yet here for a Sea Captain to blow up his Ship rather than let her be taken by the enemy, is no point of self-murder

murder; for he aiming at his Countreys good, and her enemies loss and ruine, acts the part of a valiant and faithful Citizen. Secondly, that Duels are no effect of true valour, they being injurious to the Commonwealth. Thirdly, Sturdy Theeves or Robbers, which are not only injurious, and mischievous, but such as fight directly against the laws of humane society: and they are so far from being truly valiant, that they are wicked and impudent: and therefore we shall find some of the Antients define fortitude φόβον ψύγῃ, καὶ δέῃ ἀδοξίᾳ; fear of reproof, and dread of infamy; and it is commonly seen that those that most dread the lawes, least fear the enemy, and

and who are most quiet in peace, are most valiant in war, as *Plutarch* in the life of *Agis*,

καὶ τὸ παθεῖν ἥκιστα δεδιόσιν, οἱ μάλιστα φοβέμενοι τὸ κακῶς ἀκέσαι.

They are least fearful of suffering, who stand most in awe of doing evil. Much more might be said of this manly virtue, which for brevity we omit, and shall refer those that desire further information, to that masculine discourse of *Aristotle* in *l. 3. eth. cap. 6.*

For the *Roman* practice of this virtue, it is so obvious in their histories, as we shall hardly find the least foot-step of cowardice in that gallant and victorious Commonwealth, whose noble Citizens in all occasions were most ready to devote their lives

lives for their Countrey, and sacrifice their rags of mortality, to immortal fame and renown.

And indeed the love of our Countrey, and noble thirst after honour, are the great agents in this glorious production: for what man that is fully perswaded of his duty to the first, and the reward he shall receive from the last, can be faint-hearted or cowardly?

-- *Fax mentis honestæ Gloria,*
saith the Poet, and as *Velleius*,
Nec potest quidquam abjectum, &
humile cogitare, qui scit de se
semper loquendum, A man will
hardly be brought to act basely,
who shall consider he shall stand
on record, either infamous or
renowned; Yea such a record,
as time every day more and
more

more publishes, as *Lipsius*, *Ut sol in aurora tenuior, assurgit, & inclarescit; sic ex virtute, & meritis fama cum ævo ipso augetur, & crescit.* What man in flight coming to a bridge, and remembering *Horatius Cocles*, would not make a noble stand, and either live with him, or dying live his equal in History? I shall sum up all with that of *Polybius*, τὸ μὲν ἀργύριον ἰσὶ κοινόν τι πάντων ἀνθρώπων κλῆμα τὸ δὲ καλὸν καὶ πρὸς ἔπαινον καὶ τιμὴν ἀνῆκον θεῶν, καὶ τῶν ἔγιστα τέτοις πεφυκότων ἀνδρῶν ἰσὶ, Riches are common, but bravery of mind, and the glory and renown that springs from it, is peculiar to the Gods, or such men as come near them.

CHAP. XXVI.

Of Temperance, and the Roman practice of it.

THis vertue by the Greeks is called σωφροσύνη, quasi σώζουσα τὴν φρόνησιν, as it were the preserver of Prudence: for pleasure and grief corrupt τὰς περὶ τὸ πρᾶξι δυνάμεις, those faculties which are to consider of action: and a mind taken up with either of these cannot well intend the end for which αἰρεῖσθαι πάντα δεῖ καὶ πράττειν, all things ought to be chosen or done. Now Temperance moderating these passions keeps the mind undisturbed, and deservedly

servedly is stiled, The Conservatrix of Prudence.

We shall define it, A virtue preserving a just decorum in the desiring and enjoying sensual delights: for grief, which comes within its verge, that only arises from want of fruition. It is therefore the duty of a temperat man to abhor dishonest, moderately to desire, and enjoy lawful pleasures, and not immoderately to grieve when deprived of them. Now lawful pleasures are such as first ἡ πρὸς εὐεξίαν, conduce to bodily health, or as ἡ ὑπὲρ τὴν εὐσίαν, ἡ παρὰ τὸ καλὸν, exceed not our estates, and misbecom the rank and quality we live in.

And of what avail this *virtue* is to the preservation and growth

growth of a State, History and observation every where, and every day, may clearly make out unto us. This was it set *Rome* upon her legs; This is it that made her Citizens able of body, both to fight, and endure the field; This made her Captains contemn bribes; and her Generals in the height of, military heat, and success, slight pleasure, and constantly keep the publick good, and their own honour in their eye. Thus shall we see the noble *Curius*, when the conquered *Samnites* proffered him *Gold*, shew them his *Dinner* (for he was at their coming cooking it himself) which was a few rape roots in a *pipkin*, telling them there was no great need of *gold* to furnish his *table*,
and

and that he had rather command over such as had Gold, than possess it himself. And when some complained that he had assigned too little of the conquered Lands to private men, and too much to the *Publick*, He told them, He hoped that there was never a *Roman Citizen* which would count that land too little which was sufficient to maintain him. Thus shall we see *Scipio Africanus*, when the Souldiers brought him a most beautiful Damofel, taken in the sack of *New Carthage* in *Spain*, and hearing she was betroathed to *Allucius* a young Prince of the *Celtiberians*, he sent for him, and not only bestowed on him his beautiful Bride, but a great sum of Gold

as

as her portion, which her parents brought for her ransome. Let us behold the event, this young Prince goes home rapt with joy, filling every place with the praise and merit of *Scipio*, telling his Countrymen, *Venisse Diis simillimum juvenem, vincentem omnia cum armis, tum benignitate, ac beneficiis*, There was a Godlike young man arrived, conquering all both by force and bounty: and within a few daies returned with 1400 horse to *Scipio's* Camp. Thus by his temperance he advanced the *Roman* cause, which he prefer'd above all private pleasure, and gave *Carthage* a greater blow in this *victory* over himself, than in that other of taking their City, though the most considerable they

they had in Spain. I shall conclude all with that speech of *Asdruball* surnamed the Kid, the *Carthaginian Legat* to the *Roman Senate*, *Raro simul hominibus bonam fortunam, bonamque mentem dari: populum Romanum eo invictum esse, quod in secundis rebus sapere, & consulere meminerit: & hercle mirandum fuisse, si aliter facerent: ex insolentia, quibus nova bona fortuna sit, impotentes letitiæ insanire: populo Romano usitata, ac prope jam obsoleta ex victoriæ gaudia esse, ac plus pene parcendo victis, quam vincendo imperium anxisse.* God hath given *England* her share of success, we have not of late known what it is to be conquered, but as if we had been the adopted sons of victory, she hath perch'd upon

upon our conquering enſigns ,
and pitch'd her pavilion among
our tents. O let us then endea-
vour not to be tranſported with
any unbecoming paſſions, which
may force this glorious *Virgin* to
bluſh, to hide her head, and be
aſhamed to keep us company
any further ; but as we increaſe
in power, let us grow in vertue ;
thus ſhall we be eſtabliſhed, and
to our wreaths of Palm and
Laurel ſhall the Olive chaplet
be added , and we enjoy the
pleaſant fruits of Peace at home
as well as honourable eſteem of
valour abroad.

—*Sic, ſic juvat ire*—

*Per altos virtutum gradus patet
aſcenſus ad æternitatem.*

FINIS.